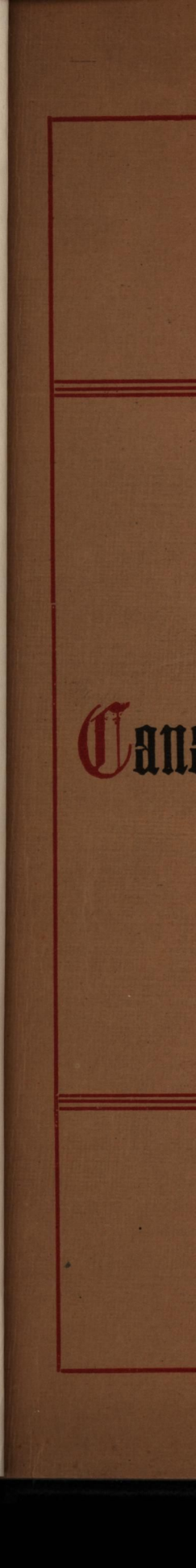

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# Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa.

**TRANSACTIONS VOL. 1:**

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# WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OTTAWA.

TRANSACTIONS VOL. I.

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OTTAWA, 1901
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# PREFACE.

The Woman's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa was formed on November 8th, 1899, between forty and fifty ladies being present.

With added numbers has come a greater earnestness in and a keener appreciation of the work undertaken, until now, with a membership of one hundred and seventy-five, the monthly meetings of the Society are well attended and are looked forward to with undiminished interest.

This Society has for its object the encouragement of study of Canadian history and literature, the collection and preservation of Canadian historical records and relics, the cultivation of a national spirit, and the building up of a Canadian loyalty and patriotism. With these aims in view a scheme of study has been prepared each year for the guidance of the members, forming a basis upon which papers have been prepared and read at the regular meetings of the Society.

As these papers were presented it was very evident that much valuable time and thought had been given to the different subjects, that considerable research had been made and hidden treasures brought to light.

In order, therefore, that these efforts might not be forgotten, and for the convenience and use of its members, this Society has deemed it advisable to publish these papers representing, as they do, a record of the work done in the last two years.

While this volume will, undoubtedly, have the attention of the entire membership of the Society, it is hoped that others, thinking out on similar lines, may find some little interest in its pages.

ADELINE FOSTER.

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# Municipal Growth in the District of Dalhousie

I have tried to present the results of a hurried and uncompleted study of what records I could gather concerning the establishment of local government in our part of the Dominion. It is only when an attempt is made to discover accurate information other than what the dry bones of a minute book can unfold, that the need and value of an historical society is properly understood. There are records back to 1842, but before that time, it is very difficult to obtain satisfactory information concerning the rise of institutions, which are the life of our system of Government and guarantee to us freedom from the irksome weight of law with which a more imperfect organization hampers. I must ask the indulgence of the Society, if I seem to repeat many things that are familiar to them, and if I give but a superficial sketch of what deserves most careful and particular study.

To begin at the beginning:—

After the settlement of Upper Canada, Lord Dorchester had divided the province into four districts Lunenburg, Mechlenburgh, Nassau and Hesse, the division being made by drawing three parallel, perpendicular lines on the map, the first through the River Gananoque, the second through the River Trent, and the third through Long Point on Lake Erie. This was in 1788. At the opening session of the first parliament of Upper Canada, these names were changed to the Eastern, Midland, Home and Western districts respectively. Counties took their origin at the same time, after this fashion. The Constitutional Act had provided that the Assembly of Upper Canada should have not less than sixteen members, so that a smaller- sub-division was necessary for purposes of parliamentary representation. Hence, Governor Simcoe divided these districts by a proclamation in July, 1792, into nineteen counties. The County, however, did not succeed the district until 1849, as a division for municipal and judicial purposes.

These four districts were sub-divided into smaller as the population increased. The Eastern district at the end of the first quarter of

the century found itself partitioned into four: the Eastern, Ottawa, Johnstown, and Bathurst, the one we are concerned with, formed in 1822, with Perth as district town.

Municipal control was partially in the hands of the Justices of the Peace assembled in the Courts of Quarter Sessions. These courts made their appearance with the first Parliament of Upper Canada. The justices were appointed by the Crown and had very extended powers. They had the responsibility of erecting gaols and court houses and exacting the payment for the same. They had charge of laying out and repairing the highways and of making assessments for these purposes. They had the appointment of district officers, including gaolers, town and parish clerks, pound-keepers, street and highway surveyors, inspectors of weights and measures, assessors and collectors, and the right to fix their wage. They controlled the establishment and regulation of markets in various towns. They granted licenses, particularly to sell liquor, and to clergymen of dissenting congregations authorizing them to solemnize marriages, the latter not to be obtained without much annoyance.

We do not find in such an oligarchical institution the germ of popular local government, but must seek it elsewhere. The township has been justly called the basis and unit of municipal organization in Ontario. Primarily, a district was a union of townships for municipal and judicial purposes; a county, a union of townships for representative and military purposes. Gradually the bounds of the district narrowed until in most cases county and district coincided, until we find in the Great Municipal Act of '49, the districts superseded entirely by the country for every purpose of government.

The U.E. Loyalists brought with them an institution in which alone, we find a hint of the municipal government of today,—that is, the town meeting. I wish we had time to dwell upon this most interesting subject. The first of which we have any record was held in historic Adolphustown in the same year which saw the adoption of an Act, "To provide for the nomination and appointment of parish and town officers." A meeting of the freeholders of the township might be called by the constable authorized by two Justices of the Peace, for the first Monday in March, in the parish church or chapel, or in some convenient place. The constable was to preside, and the following officers were to be chosen. A town clerk, whose duty it was, to make a true and complete list of every male and female inhabitant within the limits of the parish or township for the convenience of the

justices; from two to six overseers of highways and fence-viewers; two assessors; one collector; a pound-keeper; and one of two town wardens, the other being chosen by the Established Church, and the two designated "a corporation to represent the whole inhabitants of town or parish." Beyond simply electing these officers to carry out the laws made by parliament, the meeting had no legislative power, save to determine the height of lawful fences, and "to ascertain and determine in what manner and for what periods horned cattle, horses, sheep and swine or any of them shall be allowed to run at large, or to resolve that they or any of them shall be restrained from so doing."

I have not been able, as yet, to find a record of a town-meeting in Nepean, earlier than 1837. The Bytown Gazette of Jan. 19th, 1837, has the following:—

"At the township meeting held here on the second inst. (the legal date had been changed from March to January) the following persons were chosen office bearers for the township of Nepean for the year 1837.

Commissioners—Geo. Patterson, Peter Aylen, and Archibald Wilson.

Assessor—Hugh Bell.

Collector—Wm. Graham.

Pathmasters—Thos. Cochran, Wm. Stewart, Jno. Chitty, Benjamin Rothwell, Patrick Garland, Andrew Halliday, S. Collins, Wm. Thomson, Wm. Bell, Thos. Grady, Chester Chapman, Burdock McDonald, Jno. Nesbit, Jno. Robertson, H. Williams, jr., Hy. Millar, Conrad Spain, Wm. Hanrahan, M'l. Keefe, Jas. Waters. Wm. Henry, Jno. Rain, Geo. Bains, Barney Hughes, Johnston Brown, Dan'l. Fogarty.

Pound-keepers—Nicholas Sparks, Jno. Parsons, Alex. Kennedy, Jno. Mutchmore, Is. Williams, S. Collins, W. and J. Thomson, Hugh Bell, C. Chapman, Jno. Graham.

A. J. Christie,
Township Clerk."

N.B.—Such of the above as have not already taken the oath of office are requested to call on the Clerk and do so."

Here, surely, we have the fathers of the County of Carleton!

Let me close an imperfect resumé by quoting from the voluminous report of the Municipal Commission appointed by the Ontario Government,—"Thus for many years nearly all those matters usually regard-

ed as municipal in their character were managed by the legislature or by the justices of the peace in quarter sessions. Besides the election of township officers who when elected, were subject to the control of the justices in session, and the election of school trustees, the people were allowed to manage nothing directly, except to make regulations respecting the running at large of cattle and swine. There was progress in other directions * * * But the right to manage their own affairs in their own way was withheld from the people, and although they were represented in one branch of the legislature which for many years discharged the functions of a *Central Municipal Council,* the powers of the representatives were confined within narrow limits."

Before discussing the new order of things brought about by that most important step in advance, the District Councils Bill of 1841, which transferred municipal legislation from the hands of the Justices of the Peace into the care of a body of men elected by the people,—let me merely mention another change which heralded again our urban municipalities. It had to do with the privileges granted to incorporated towns. The increase of towns made necessary some provision for a police; moreover, their control by the Quarter Sessions was, to say the least, awkward and ineffectual. So the House of Assembly, in 1832, was driven to organize a board of police for the town of Brockville on an entirely new principle. It was called "the President and Board of Police," and had four members elective by the people. This gave the people for the first time control over their municipal affairs. Bills succeeded each other, forming these boards in other towns, in Hamilton, in Belleville, Cornwall and Port Hope within a couple of years later. Toronto was incorporated in 1834 with "a Mayor, Aldermen and Common Councillors and other officers for the management of the affairs of said city." So that we see, that from '34 to '37 much was done to establish municipal government in the towns.

In '35 several changes for the better were made in the enactments regarding township meetings. The most important one was the election of Commissioners to whom were now transferred many of the powers respecting the construction and repairs of roads and bridges which the justices had up to now exercised. The only funds however controlled by the Commissioners were those obtained by commutation of statute labor and what was paid under the Wild Lands Assessment Act for lands in the township. In turning over the pages of a file of the Bytown Gazette I was much interested to find the following disagreement ventilated, which occurred shortly after the town meeting of Nepean that I spoke of, when the Commissioners were evidently

the second appointment under the new act. It throws light as well, on the progress Bytown has made in the few years of her existence.

(A copy of a letter addressed to the Attorney-General, Nov. 12, 1836).

Bytown, 30th January, 1837.

Dr. Christie, Editor of Gazette,—

The Prov. Act 4 Geo. 4, Cap. 9, provides that the Statute Labor in the several towns shall be performed under the jurisdiction of the Magistrates.

Under this Act the Magistrates of the district of Bathurst in General Quarter Sessions assembled, Dec. 1835, appointed surveyors of streets for Perth, Richmond and Bytown. The surveyor appointed for Bytown declined to act, (they mostly either declined or failed to act: F.G.K.) and another was appointed and accepted office at the Sessions in March 1836,—but he also declined to act in the month of July following.

The Act referred to above was not repealed by that commonly called the Township Officers Act—but at the meeting for the Township of Nepean held at Bytown under this Act on the 4th of January last, the Commissioners appointed insisted upon their jurisdiction extending to Bytown; and this jurisdiction they have persisted to exercise.

In the meantime a number of the inhabitants of Bytown refused to acknowledge the authority of the Commissioners over the statute labour in the town, in consequence of which they are summoned to appear before the Commissioners of the Township on Friday the 18th inst. for neglect or refusal to perform it.

The Commissioners insist upon it that Bytown is *not a town.*

On the other hand, the Magistrates have no doubt that it is:

First, by reputation.

Second, by the number of houses and population.

Bytown having about 1300 inhabitants with four churches and chapels; Perth about 900 and Richmond about 200,—the two latter being described as towns in Acts 4, Geo. 4, Cap 2, and 4 Wm. 4, 31 Cap. respectively.

The undersigned request to know whether the Commissioners of the township of Nepean, Messrs. Peter Aylen, Wm. Graham, and Ed. L. Wood have or have not exceeded their jurisdiction, and if they have, what course the Magistrates should pursue to restrain them."

The Attorney-General's reply followed, dated the 18th of Jan., 1837, and naturally upheld the Magistrates. This is one of many instances proving the confusion of the various Municipal Acts in working, and their need of revision into one comprehensive bill.

It is plain that Bytown had no incorporated existence up to this time, nor had she until 1847, when a special bill was passed, "an Act to incorporate the Town of Bytown." There was, however, a Council which met within her bounds for five years previous, of the greatest interest to us as students of local history. Let me emphasize the fact that the District Councils Act of 1841 instituted a new era in local government. As I have indicated, most of the powers hitherto exercised by the Justices of the Peace were transferred to District Councils, constituted Municipal Corporations. They were authorized to make by-laws relating to roads and bridges, public buildings, schools, the expenses of the administration of Justice, the appointment of road surveyors and officers and were given a restricted authority to levy assessments and taxes.

I do not need to remind you of the character of Bytown at this time. There were two small villages of Upper and Lower town separated by a wooded spur of the hill where the barracks stood. It was a lumbering centre, a lively, busy place. There was an abundance of intelligence and business enterprise, but the conditions of life were of the rudest. The roads into Bytown on every side were hopelessly bad. The roads in town were in the same condition. Statute labor was the only means of constructing and repairing them and though every male inhabitant over twenty-one was liable, still the Justices had difficulty always, and were mostly careless, in exacting it strictly. The system of common schools education was in its earliest infancy. It was the era of the shiners. It was a time of hot party feeling all over the country. It was a time of brawls, and rough and ready fighting, of back country settlement life. Whiskey was altogether too cheap and plentiful, there were always two or three corps of regulars to make the town lively, all the trade between Lower and Upper Canada went by on the Rideau Canal, sometimes hundreds of emigrants passed through in a day, and here the lumbermen congregated, after a winter in the woods, to spend their money and see the sights. The proximity to Lower Canada afforded an easy escape to offenders. Culprits, whose transgressions were too flagrant or who were inadvertently captured, were occasionally thrust into the black hole at the barracks, preparatory to being sent to Perth.

Much has been said by writers concerning the unruly element in Bytown life and the papers of early days would seem to countenance their assertions. In a Gazette dated the 11th of March, 1837, there is a notice signed by four Justices of the Peace which speaks of "various riotous and unlawful assemblies attended with gross breaches of the

peace having lately taken place in Bytown, to the great terror of the peaceable inhabitants by parties of armed men,'' and they declare their intention to ''put an end to the disorders which have so long disgraced the town,'' calling upon all well disposed householders to come forward immediately and be sworn in as special constables.

There was also an ''Association for the Preservation of the Public Peace in Bytown'' to which all the prominent citizens belonged. The fee was not less than 5s. payable in advance and its funds were of course to defray the heavy expenses of a practice which obliged both offender and accuser to journey to Perth for trial. Its object, to quote from a report published in the daily paper, was to afford ''mutual protection against felonious assault,'' which again does not say much for the character of the town.

They have always been public spirited citizens in Lower Town, for in 1836 we find a fire club organized and sufficient money raised by voluntary subscriptions, to purchase a fire engine, which was properly pronounced ''one of great power and on the most approved plan, and said by Mr. Garth the engineer of the Montreal Water Co., to be the best engine in Lower Canada.'' There was great jubilation in Bytown when it arrived.

Two other events mark the town's progress. The organization of a company of volunteers by Capt. Bolton, of which the first officers were Capt. Geo. Baker, Lieut. H. LeLeviere, and Ensign Wm. Addison with sixty men in command; and the establishment of two reading rooms, one in the British Hotel, Upper Town, and the other in McArthur's Hotel, Lower Town, (The Atheneaum).

The agitation to form a separate district with Bytown as its capital was persisted in for a period of twelve or fifteen years before it succeeded. Commenting on a public meeting held for this purpose in 1836, it is asserted in the Gazette that already the legislature had been eight times petitioned. When the bill did come to light in 1838 there were certain clauses which made it impracticable, in particular, one ordering the site to be on ground set apart for that purpose. There is a curious long, indignant editorial on the contents of this unsatisfactory bill in the newspaper I have so often referred to, of the date of the 11th of April, 1838, which will bear quotation. Speaking of the proviso *re* the required site, the writer say,—''Now this is a proviso which demands consideration. In the first place Bytown is surrounded by liberal and disinterested individuals who were ready to give a portion of land (now their own private property) for the purpose of

erecting these public buildings. Among those we may mention Nicholas Sparks Esq., who two years ago offered a site for such erection on the best of terms. Since then a Mr. Besserer, who is said to be proprietor of a tract of ground lying between Bytown and the Rideau River has offered a sufficient quantity of ground for the same purposes and there is little doubt but Mr. Le Breton, the landed proprietor on the 3rd side of Bytown, would act with equal liberality in granting a site for the buildings of the district. Now in the face of all these plain facts, we would ask where was the necessity for introducing such a clause into the bill, unless with the plain and obvious intention of defrauding the operators or benefitting private individuals. It is well known to many that Col. By, with a prevoyance beyond what many possess, when he obtained permission of Lord Dalhousie to lease the Government lands for the erection of Bytown, reserved a portion for public buildings, well aware that this embryo village would one day attain to celebrity. But there unhappily exists no record of such a reservation—and if there did, what would be the consequence;—erect public buildings of a district destined soon to be most important in Upper Canada upon a petty lease."

It was two years before the bill was amended sufficiently to become practicable, and two more passed before the district of Dalhousie came into actual existence with the completion of the court-house, and the appointment of district officers by the Crown.

Let us now turn to the minutes of the first session of the first Council of the District of Dalhousie. We find it dated, Tuesday, Aug. 9, 1842, in the temporary court in Bytown. There were twelve Councillors present, representing ten townships. Jno. Thompson and G. W. Baker stood for Nepean, Robt. Johnston for Huntley, Wm. Mackey and Robt. Grant for Goulbourn, Hamnett Pinhey for March, Jno. Buckham for Torbolton, Jno. Neile for Fitzroy, Wm. Smith for Gloucester, Arch'd McDonell for Osgoode, Jno. Price for Marlboro, and Jno. Thomson, for North Gower. The Hon. Thos. McKay, Warden, presided. Four standing committees were at once appointed,—on Public Improvements, on Finance, on Schools, and on Statute Labor. In obedience to the Act, the three candidates for Clerk of the District were sent in for the Governor-General to make a choice of,—these were, G. P. Baker, G. B. Lyon and Alex. Gibb.

Surveyors of roads were appointed, Clement Bradley for Gloucester, Stephen Burritt for Marlboro, David Maclaren for Torbolton and March, Jas. Howe for Fitzroy, Jas. Lindsay for North Gower, Jno. Kennedy for Osgoode, and Jno. Robertson for Nepean.

Nearly all the transactions of the Sessions had to do with projected improvements of roads. In Bytown, what is now Wellington street in the neighborhood of the waterworks and the cliff, was condemned as in a dangerous state, the Richmond Road starting from that point needed to be re-surveyed and rebuilt, the Concession line between lots C. & D., or in other words Wellington street, between Upper and Lower town needed to be opened up, and a petition to that effect was addressed to the officer in command of the Royal Engineers, the hill on Rideau Street had to be cut down, and the bridge over the Rideau repaired. However, to accomplish these things took more than one Session. Indeed, the good intentions of the Council were mostly made of none effect for lack of funds. The commutation of Statute labor had still to be principally depended upon to carry out these improvements and was entirely inadequate. The common reply to petitions asking improvements or alterations to this or that highway, was that the Council was quite willing, provided they incurred no expense.

A resolution adopting a petition to the legislature asking for an Act to alter the construction of trains in order to prevent cahots in the winter roads, gives us a revelation of the social progress we have made in sixty years. I doubt if many of my hearers know what either a train or a cahot really is.

One of the most important doings of this Session, which had to be repeated at the next, was the drafting of a memorial to the Governor-General protesting against the studied neglect of the legislature in regard to the needs of this section of the province, and asking assistance to build roads from Bytown to Kemptville, and from Bytown to Fitzroy. This memorial, which is too long to quote here, is revelatory of the justice of the universal discontent with the measures of the legislature, prior to the union of the provinces. This district had contributed £250,000 in taxes during 25 years, and another £500,000 in lumber dues, yet had received practically no reimbursement in the way of local improvements, in spite of the fact that over £3,000,000 had been appropriated within the previous ten years to public improvements westerly from Kingston and the St. Lawrence, not including loans to companies, upwards of £100,000. "Yet," concluded the memorial, "not a penny has ever been appropriated out of the enormous sum specified for the improvement of any part of the District of Dalhousie or its neighborhood, with the exception of the sum of £28,000 within the last few months for a bridge across the Ottawa."

It is significant of the imperfection of the District Councils Bill that a petition is drawn up to the legislature asking its amendment,

and it is worth while to indicate why these Councils were able to accomplish so little.

There were only Quarterly Sessions. Extraordinary Sessions might be convened at the call of the governor but could only last six days. The distances the Councillors had to come at their own expense interfered with the attendance.

Committees could only meet during the Sessions of the Council.

The paid officials were crown appointees, such as clerk of the district, the district surveyor, the treasurer, and so were not answerable to the people. The warden was also appointed by the crown.

No by-law came into force until sanctioned by the Governor-in-Council and could be disallowed by him.

The district surveyor, virtually independent of the Council, had certain powers which often interfered with public works.

The Council could be dissolved at the will of the Governor, if it persisted in measures displeasing to the central government. And notwithstanding this clogging of the wheels, there remained besides the chief hindrances, *i.e.* the limited power of assessment, and no provisions being made for loans such as took their rise with the bill of 1849.

It is plain to anyone familiar with this initial bill that the Ceuncils could do little harm, and unfortunately, little good, without the connivance of the Provincial Government.

Knowing the facts, it is not surprising on looking over the minutes of a period of years, to find how little is accomplished after all, in the principal subject of resolutions and by-laws, viz, the laying out and improvement of roads and bridges. The chief revelations of the minutes are not concerning what is accomplished but rather concerning the appalling conditions of highways everywhere and what is needed to be accomplished. They are afraid to sanction the cutting away of the cliff at Pooley's Bridge where at that time a single cart had difficulty in passing, lest the expenses should fall on the Council. It took a number of sessions for any improvement to become the subject of a by-law and I know not how long to accomplish its enforcement. Take for illustration, the subject of the laying of plank walks in Lower Bytown.

At the November Session of 1843 Mr. Baker presented the petition of Simon Fraser and 116 others, praying to have their Statute Labor

commuted for the purpose of laying plank walks in the main streets; and by the way, this is the first hint of public plank walks in Bytown. The by-law was passed at the next session, three months later. In November, 1844, we find a resolution moved by Mr. Hinton and seconded by Mr. Bearman, that the commutation money for Statute Labor collected by Mr. Musgrove, for the purpose of making plank walks on Rideau and Sussex Streets, be handed over to the district surveyor to be expended in forwarding the proposed work, and that those who have not performed their Statute Labor or commuted the same, be proceeded against forthwith. A later resolution also sanctions a plank walk from Rideau Street to the Court House out of the same funds. The time of deliberation is not yet passed, for at the next session again in February, 1845, the latter clause is reconsidered and the inhabitants of Nicholas Street ordered to commute their Statute Labor to pay the expense of the plank walk from Rideau Street to the Court House.

At this same Session another interesting petition occurs. Many of you will remember the "haunted house" of some years ago on Wellington street below Bay, with its long flight of front steps. Listen to this:—

"No. 4.—A petition from E. V. Cortland, praying for permission to erect steps to his front door and to occupy 5 feet of the street, was presented by Mr. Bearman, and read by the Clerk. It was moved that the prayer of the petition be granted. Mr. Christie having been heard at the bar of the Council on the subject of the petition, it was moved in amendment, that Dr. V. Cortlandt be allowed to erect a flight of steps to his front door, provided they do not advance more than five feet from the front door of his house. Carried."

I shall only permit myself to mention one other side light on Bytown, and I chose that one out of many, because it explains the undertaking of the second Council of Bytown in 1848 to appropriate £300 out of a sadly lacking treasury, unable to borrow money and with some hundred pounds of indebtedness.

Moved by Mr. Baker, seconded by Mr. Summer, "that whereas the basin in the centre of George street, is the cause of great sickness during the heats of summer, the respective officers of the ordnance be requested to construct a barrel drain, or to take any other steps to remedy the evil complained of, and that the clerk of the Council transmit to the respective officers a copy of this resolution." No wonder the Council of '48 voted for the construction of a drain along

George street. Fever and small-pox and sickness of all kinds were rampant in the old north ward. Think of living in a swamp with green, slimy pools at your door! This, too, is the first indication I have discovered in the district minutes, of any public attention being given to drainage.

I have transgressed too long on your patience. Yet I have not really entered on my study proper, the foregoing being merely introductory. I might have plunged at once into the records of the Town Council, but I felt, for myself, and I am sure you will agree, that the origin of our municipal institutions are too little known, and that, unless some proper historical foundation is laid for such a study, little is gained that is instructive, though much that is curious and of general interest.

What we need in Ottawa, as in other Canadian cities, is a more intelligent interest in our municipal affairs. It is the duty of societies such as ours to foster and give all encouragement to such an interest. How can we encourage interest in something of which we know and care nothing? Municipal government is an institution to which British people owe a great part of their liberty, of their unconsciousness of living under many and stringent laws owing to the perfection of the organization, something unknown in other countries. Surely we ought to know something of its origin and nature, and of the efforts and sacrifices our forefathers made to obtain it.

F. GERTRUDE KENNY.

March 29th, 1900.

# Some Account of Bytown.

It will be evident that the writer has attempted, in the preparation of this paper, rather to suggest certain lines of investigation than to present an exhaustive study of the settlement of our particular corner of Canada. Parkman has made the voyages of the early explorers up the river of *Outoeawais* delightfully familiar to us all; other historians have been attracted by the romance and excitement of those brave, adventurous days; but no one has reproduced in a more vivid and inimitable fashion than Mr. Benjamin Sulte, the inhospitable shores and warring Indian tribes of Champlain's day, the voyageurs and traders who followed him, the first sparse settlements on the Lower Ottawa, down to those times of happy augury when Philemon Wright and his associates founded Hull on the opposite shore. Nor does he end there. As he tells it, the story of the building of the Rideau Canal, which gave a reason for the coming together of the village whose evolution still goes on before our eyes, is full of romance and incitement to patriotic pride.

I fancy the much-talked-of trip into the Yukon is little more hazardous than the hard journey up the Ottawa was in the days of the first French explorers. The island Allumette, the headquarters of the Algonquin Indians, was then within the confines of nowhereland, and Champlain, as we all know, made men marvel at his hardihood in daring to push his way thus far. He was probably only the third European who passed the "Place des Rideaux," and saw the Chaudiere in the beauty we can only imagine. To the Algonquins, whose hunting ground at that period was the valley of the Ottawa, the Chaudiere and its neighborhood were places of importance. There are many interesting, shadowy bits of history gathered around the meeting place of three rivers. It is always mentioned in the annals of explorers, and we discover that we cannot flatter ourselves that we were first to perceive the commercial advantages of our city. Long ere a white man dreamed that there where such rushing waters and vast stretches of hill and valley waiting to be preyed upon, these very places, we are told, were the goal of yearly trading expeditions of

Indian tribes who lived thousands of miles apart. All kinds of produce changed owners here—the tobacco of distant Virginia, the pumpkins and squashes and melons of the agricultural Hurons, and the bark canoes of the more southerly tribes for the warm, beautiful furs of the Algonquins and the tribes still further north. These annual fairs continued for many years after the French had established trading-posts along the St. Lawrence. But not only were these places of notes as centres of Indian trade; we find, too, that whenever the Chaudiere is spoken of by early French writers, there are hints of the veneration with which the Algonquins regarded it. It was a religious shrine, where, no matter what danger of lurking foe, a propitiating sacrifice must be offered. That oftentimes there was a real danger, many tales of bloodshed happening with such a beginning testify.

We have all heard of the proposed Georgian Bay Canal, but, I wonder, are we all aware that such a trade channel would be but a return to the route which was the customary one for two hundred years that we know of to the Georgian Bay and the country beyond. How many trains of Indian canoes and Indian braves have passed along this thorny way of many portages! What a procession of heroic missionaries have paddled these waters and torn their feet on the rocky shores, going some of them to death, and some of them to tortures worse than death! What stout-hearted *coureurs-de-bois,* what cheery voyageurs have floated by into the north and west to the life of the woods! Oftentimes of a summer night the waters, and the wind in the trees along the shores of the river seem to be murmuring and whispering stories of those dauntless travellers.

It seems a strange thing, nowadays, to remember that hardly more than seventy years ago these regions were known as the Upper Ottawa, and still considered a wild, inaccessible district. Philemon Wright's account of his exploration of the township of Hull, and ultimate settlement there, makes interesting reading. He tells us that when he first came to spy out the land in 1799, in order to obtain any idea at all of the nature of the country, he had to climb one towering tree after another. Had he climbed to the top of a rugged pine on the heights, let us say, of Ashburnham Hill, what would he have seen? No Gothic architecture, certainly; rather, forest, swamps, brushwood and beaver meadows. At his feet, stretching southward, he would see the primeval forest; to the north beyond the terraced hill slope, low ground covered with dwarf cedars, juniper and brush—what we now call the flats; then the sweep of the river as it rushed through the wooded isles strung across the north shore, where his proposed settlement was to

locate. Eastward the mists were rising from a swamp covering the acres between what is now Lyon and O'Connor Streets, possibly reaching as far south as Maria Street, and if he looked closely he might trace an outlet to the waters of this quagmire, as they flowed down what is now Queen Street, and rushed over the steep at the rear of what was to be the site of the Russell House, into the pond which eventually changed into the canal basin. Had he followed the creek's course, he would have discovered the beavers keeping their dam at the eastern end.

This creek, which controlled the geography of Lower Town, and decided the situation of the earliest buildings erected in Bytown, flowed diagonally across Rideau Street,, thence along King Street, until it lost itself in the universal swamp of Lower Town. Along the Lower Creeks, which Colonel By utilized as a by-wash for his canal, just beyond the settlement, wild duck and plovers were plentiful in the '30's. As for Upper Town, listen to W. P. Lett:

"For when across the Sapper's bridge,
The prospect was a fine beech ridge,
And 'Gibson's corner,' in old time,
For squirrel hunting was most prime."

"Then the deer
To Bank Street church's site drew near,
And ruffed-grouse, wrongly named partridge,
Whirled and drummed between the ridges."

"And when the swamp down Slater street
Was cleared, a dozen snipe would greet
At every step the sportsman's eye.
Oh! glorious spot of days gone by!"

The countryside was full of wolves and deer. My grandmother, who married in '34, used to tell my father tales of many a day spent alone in the log house of those days, with the wolves howling madly around, the fiercest of them thrusting their noses against the window-pane. That was within eight miles of Ottawa. Nearly all the old settlers could boast of a bear-fight. Mr. Sulte writes that, as late as 1860, a deer was seen from the windows of Parliament to leap into the the river, pursued by hunting dogs.

The enterprise of Philemon Wright prospered, and in the course of a few years a little village grew up at the foot of the Gatineau hills, until in 1820, there was a population of 703 souls. But the bluffs of the opposite shore were still solitary, and no sign was visible of the fast approaching change. Meanwhile the surrounding country was gradually being settled. It was in 1811 that Ira Honeywell made his way

through the wilds from Prescott, cleared a farm and made a home on the south shore above the Chaudiere. Others followed until, in 1818-19, we find a succession of farms along the river front. It is interesting to know that the names of these first settlers are: Holt, Honeywell, Moore, McConnell and Thompson, their land ranging in the order named. We realize how young we are as a people, remembering that the first child born on the south shore was a John Honeywell in 1811. It was Martin Moore, the historian of the County of Carleton tells us, speaking of these settlers, who drove the corpse of the Duke of Richmond with a double yoke of oxen from Chapman's to the "Landing." The mention of the latter place brings us to the founding of Richmond in 1818.

For two centuries "La Place des Rideaux" had been the only name to distinguish a large stretch of country. Nepean and Nepean Point came into use at the beginning of this century and for some years following 1818, the place now called "Le Breton Flats" went under the more euphonious name of "Richmond's Landing.' The summer long, the wives and children of these Richmond pioneers tarried there, and had a taste of both cold and hunger before their soldier husbands and fathers succeeded in building a road and making ready log cabins, preparatory to transporting them to the pretty spot chosen for their settlement. Richmond was a place of importance until the advent of the Rideau Canal caused a town to spring up which overshadowed and killed its growth.

The townships around Nepean were also being slowly inhabited. The Billings of Billings' Bridge settled in Gloucester as early as 1812, soon followed by three families of Dow's.

To go back a little, the township of Nepean had been surveyed in the last decade of the eighteenth century. It was laid out in concessions, which fronted, half of them on the Ottawa, and half on the Rideau river. The land on which our city now stands was originally comprised in six lots, three lots of concession C and three lots of concession D, the boundary line between them being Cumberland street. The first of these to leave possession of the Crown, were the two lots covering about six hundred acres, extending north and south, from Maria as far as Ann street, and east and west from Concession street to the Rideau. These were patented by the Crown to Grace McQueen in 1801. Her family held them until 1832, when they were sold to Colonel By for £1,200. In 1802, Jacob Carman took out a patent for two lots similar in size, a long strip of land which stretched from about

Pooley's Bridge to the Rideau, between Ottawa and Cathcart streets on the north, and Wellington and Rideau streets on the south, including, as you may perceive, Parliament Hill and Major's Hill Park. This property changed hands for £10, and was again taken possession of by the Crown in 1823, at a price something over £700. There remain the two lots running between these two properties, one of them to become the business centre of Ottawa. This slice of land, the well-known Sparks estate, was originally the property of John Honey Burrows, who sold it to Nicholas Sparks in June, 1826. The rest of the city proper, what we now call Sandy Hill, was patented to Lewis T. Besserer only in 1828.

It is not known that Jacob Carman ever settled upon the rocky shore of which he held the title deeds. The earliest note of habitation are lumber shanties about 1816, in Lower Town. At the coming of the Richmond settlers there were three householders at the "Landing," who might be called the advance-guard of our city,—Caleb T. Bellows, who kept a dock and a little store, Isaac Frith who kept a tavern, and a genial settler by the name of Ralph Smith, whose hospitality Mr. Lett has immortalized in his "Recollections of Bytown." Mr. Burrows lived for a short time on the uncleared land he eventually sold to Mr. Sparks, the only settler in a wilderness of forest and rugged hills. He had come out to Canada in 1818, and settled on a farm between Hull and Aylmer. After Colonel By's arrival he was appointed on the engineering staff of the Ordnance Department, where he remained until his death in '48. He built the first Methodist church, which had the honor of being as well the first of any creed erected in Ottawa, at his own expense. It was a little frame building on Chapel street, just below Rideau, and gave its name to the former street. Unfortunately, it was destroyed by fire a few months later. Of him the late Mr. Lett wrote:

> "John Burrows too, with serious air
> Sang hymns, and offered frequent prayer,
> And taught a Sunday-school with might,
> To spread religion's early light."

Let me speak for a moment of the hard life of those days before 1827. To begin with, the first homes of even those who afterwards became wealthy and influential, were log cabins built with one room, kitchen, dining-room and sleeping-room, downstairs, and usually a garret above, oftentimes exposed to the weather. There were no churches and few religious services, even on the Hull side. An itinerant preacher the first to penetrate into these backwoods, has left an interesting account of his visit. "Where the City of Ottawa now

stands, or near it," he writes, "there was in the spring of 1816 a small village known as Hull. With no land road from below it could only be reached by water, a distance of forty miles. Represented as all but destitute of Christian ministration, the author of these reminiscences decided to reconnoitre and report." After describing the canoe trip and a night in the woods, he continues: "Daylight sees us leading for the 'carrying-place,' (an alias for the writer's destination) which was gained in season to assemble the settlement for an evening sermon. It was listened to by some who had never heard one before, with avidity and tears." Two years pass before a regular travelling preacher was appointed, one Rinaldo Evaretts, who used to come by way of the Upper Rideau settlements, and thence alone in a canoe. He is said to have been the first clergyman in all Nepean. But churches were not the only lack. The dead had to be ferried across to be buried on the Hull side. Matrimony was a problem, solved as a rule by bringing a justice of peace from a distant settlement. Such a marriage was not legal in Lower Canada, and hence a romantic fashion said to have been on occasions adopted by the Hull settlers, of having the ceremony take place in the winter time, on the ice in the middle of the river. We are told that the first school in this part of Nepean met at the house of Mr. Burrows. In 1828 it was still the rule to send Bytown children across to Hull to school. Indeed, as late as 1833, there were only five regular teachers in all Nepean, including the village of Bytown.

The trade which was to bring wealth to the Ottawa Valley was begun in 1806, when Philemon Wright, daring man he was, took the first raft of timber down the Ottawa and St. Lawrence to Quebec. With few exceptions, the whole population, on the Hull side at least, was henceforth interested in lumbering.

Oxen were in general use to clear the land and to draw the caravans of travellers from one settlement to another. I wish I had time to picture what hardship a journey to Perth, the seat of justice for the county until 1842, meant in those days. You can imagine something of it when I tell you there was no sign of a road and that the services of a guide were needed. The first steamer was put on the river in 1819, previous to that time travelling was done in *Batteaux* or barges.

The birth year of Ottawa is properly 1826, when Colonel By came out to take charge of the construction of the Rideau Canal. He straightway set about building three barracks to house his soldiers, on the hill where the Parliament Buildings stand, and fixed his own habitation on the next hill, Major's Hill of today. It was a house set

among the trees with a ravishing view from the verandah, as Bouchette tells us, who doubtless enjoyed it as he smoked his pipe in the evening time, never dreaming of the lumber piles and sawdust that were to mar the enjoyment of his successors. Sir John Franklin happened along returning home from one of his voyages, and laid the corner stone of the canal locks in August 1827, and the work was rapidly pushed forward. A settlement at once sprang up. Upper Town was first laid out in lots, just a few streets, Wellington, Vittoria, Lyon or Sally, and Kent, and just a few blocks on each. These were soon taken. The following spring ('27), Lower Town was well drained into the canal basin, and at once surveyed. In 1828 and thereabouts, there were one hundred and fifty houses in the place, a few on Wellington street, half a dozen on the Flats, the rest divided between Corktown, Sussex and Rideau streets. Corktown was a wild, lawless place along the border of the canal, from Bates' wholesale grocery over to Maria street, a row of labourers' huts, built in the mud. There were civilian barracks in the neighborhood of George and Rideau streets, two frame buildings facing one another, built to accommodate the canal workers. In 1828, the workmen of the Hon. Thomas McKay erected the "Scotch" church, now St. Andrew's. It was not until '32 that Nicholas Sparks gave the land on which the first Anglican Church was built, on condition that he and his heirs were granted a pew for all time.

As soon as the building of the canal became determined upon it followed that a bridge must span the Ottawa, and the islands below the falls offered natural stepping-stones for such an undertaking. It was not so easy a task as one would think to keep a bridge across the Chaudiere. The first one attempted broke and three workmen were drowned. The second when nearly completed, was blown down stream by a gale of wind. There is a picture of the Chaudiere in existence, taken in 1828, entitled "The Bridge over the Ottawa at Bytown," where instead of the suspension bridge of today, there appears a perilous-looking affair built with an invex curve. This must have been the second bridge. The third had better fortune and endured for twelve years when it followed the example of its predecessors.

The earliest map of Bytown reveals its progress. The 'Scotch' church seems out of bounds, Sussex street is only a few yards long, a path is traced leading through the woods to Colonel By's residence, the direction of Sapper's Bridge is incorrect, there is no centre town at all, and certain of the few streets laid out have changed their names. According to the sketch it would seem that the river flowed north! The

canal was completed in 1832, and at once all the trade between Upper and Lower Canada went past Bytown. For years the chief amusement of the townspeople was to watch a procession of boats slowly making their way through the locks. Bytown was never a compact, orderly appearing place. In the beginning its growth was of such a mushroom character, that its houses were hidden from each other by the forest, people had not time to clear away. A similar state of things lasted for many years. A distinguished traveller has left this record of his impressions as late as in '54: "There has been as yet no time to pave the streets, and in bad weather they are in a desperate condition. Only near the houses there are run what is called 'plank roads.' As for gardens, fruit trees or flowers, no one has had time so much as to think of them, and the old rough boulders and masses of rock are lying about still, among the groups of houses, and firs and other forest trees are springing up again out of the stumps. Here and there amongst elegant colleges and churches are to be seen fragments of the primeval forest, lofty pines and firs and thick underwood that may occasionally give shelter to a bear. By and by they will be changed into gardens, but as yet the unbroken mass of the primeval forest fences the town on all sides, and if you get a view of it from a high point you see for miles and miles nothing but a sea of wood in which the town lies like the nest of a heathcock."

For the first twenty years of Bytown's life, the division into Upper Town and Lower Town was very real. Up to 1847 there was not a house in Centre Town save the barracks and the stone hospital on the hill. Crossing Sapper's Bridge the road wound round the foot of Parliament Hill, behind the Russell, skirting the old cemetery, curving outward to Albert Street and striking Bank street at the south-eastern corner of Wellington street. A log fence enclosed the government land, with a stile at each end and a rocky footpath between. For years this government property extended out to Ann Street, and it was the original intention to use it as a reservoir for the canal. Those were halcyon days for government officials, who were allowed privileges of pasture for their cows in the enclosure. Mr. Sparks regained possession of Centre Town as far as Maria Street after a protracted lawsuit, and at once laid it out in lots. The business centre of Ottawa was from that time decided.

I fear that I have wearied you, and yet I have not done more than attempt to indicate a few of the many salient points of local history which it would be instructive to develop. I have said nothing of the "Shiners," a not very creditable episode in our history, of a hundred

other incidents in the changes which have come about, but I hope that I have said enough to convince you that there is no better study than that of local history to awaken a national sentiment, and an ardent wish for the well-being and advancement of the home city.

F. GERTRUDE KENNY.

Ottawa, December, 1898.

# The Rideau Canal and the Founder of Bytown.

In the preparation of this brief sketch of the founder of Bytown, which I hope may prove interesting, I am indebted to old papers and scrap books in my possession, to personal recollections, and to extracts taken from articles published in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Col. By's arrival at the place that was then generally known as "The Point," later the Rideau Canal, in 1831 Bytown, in 1854 Ottawa, and in 1858 proclaimed the capital of Canada, by our Gracious Sovereign Queen Victoria.

About the year 1814 the Imperial Government deemed it advisable to construct a canal to connect the Lower St. Lawrence with Lake Ontario. This work was a purely military undertaking. In September, 1826, Lord Dalhousie, Col. By, and several other gentlemen arrived at the village of Hull, to deliberate on the construction of the proposed canal. They decided to erect a bridge over the Grand River, as the Ottawa was then called, which would facilitate operation on the canal. Two days afterwards work on the bridge was begun. The first and second attempt was unsuccessful, and no further action was taken that year. In June, 1827, some papers say on the 31st of May, 1827, Col. John By with his company of sappers and miners, arrived on the site now occupied by the City of Ottawa.

When Col. By pitched his tent on Nepean Point, he looked around him and beheld little more than an unbroken wilderness. There was forest, hill and swamp on every side, with but few houses to indicate that the hand of civilization had begun its task.

Parliament Hill was then a dense forest, and the first break that was made on the site where the legislative halls of the Dominion of Canada now stands was by the force who came out with Col. By, and who erected barracks on the brow of the hill, overlooking the river. Until the barracks were completed the whole force remained under canvas on Nepean Point. The gallant colonel had a residence for himself constructed on Major's Hill. It was built of boulders, and the

wood-work was of the most rustic description. This old relic was some years later destroyed by fire. Major's Hill was in the early days called the "Colonel's Hill," but after the arrival of Major Bolton the name was changed to Major's Hill.

Col. By was accompanied by his staff, on which were Captain Victor, Lieut. Pooley, after whom Pooley's bridge was called, Paymaster Rudyard, Dr. Tuthill and others. Shortly after the arrival of Col. By another attempt was made to build a bridge over the Chaudiere, or Big Kettle, as it was often called. Ropes were stretched across the channel below the falls, and the first footway called the swing bridge, was constructed. The rope was shot across from a small cannon. A strong, wooden, truss bridge after considerable difficulty was at length completed, and Upper and Lower Canada were united for the purpose of highway traffic.

Early in the year 1827 the ceremony of breaking the ground took place. So important did this work appear to the Earl of Dalhousie, the then Governor-General of Canada, that he came to witness the event. The locks were immediately commenced, the contractor being Mr. Thos. McKay, afterwards the Hon. Thomas McKay, of "The Castle," as Rideau Hall was then called. The erection of "The Castle" commenced in the year 1838, being at that time a residence worthy of the gentleman for whom it was built—so much can not be said of the present edifice—the only really handsome portion of the building being the original structure, which is nearly lost to view in the different attempts made to enlarge the once beautiful building. The Queen's representative should have a more suitable residence in our fair City of Ottawa.

The Sapper's Bridge, the Deep Cut and the dam at Hog's Back, each of them great and important works, were proceeded with and pushed through with wonderful rapidity and energy by Col. By and the staff of Royal Engineers under his command. All the great works on the canal, as well as the old "Union bridge" at the Chaudiere were constructed under the supervision of Col. By.

Col. By was a man of great energy and determination. It is related of him that when the dam at Hog's Back was nearly completed and owing to some defect in position was swept away by the spring flood, he said that he would rebuild it again and again, until it would stand, if he had to build it with solid half dollar pieces, which would have been rather an expensive piece of work. I might mention here that Hog's Back received its name from a small island that was once

in the vicinity, but not now to be seen, the shape of which resembled the spinal bridgebone of a hog.

Dr. Tuthill, a member of Col. By's staff, nearly lost his life one night crossing the Grand river from Hull to the foot of the hill leading down to the river from where the Supreme Court buildings now stand. Dr. Tuthill was accompanied by Dr. A. Christie, Bytown's first physician, and later editor and proprietor of the Bytown Gazette, the father of Mr. Alexander Christie, who was contractor for the Suspension bridge built over the Chaudiere falls in 1842-43 to replace the old wooden bridge which had broken down a short time before, and grandfather of the late Mr. A. J. Christie and of Mr. John Christie, a well-known barrister of the city. They lost their way in a blinding snowstorm, and would undoubtedly have frozen to death had not some parties who were up late that night enjoying the doubtful pleasure of cleaning the kitchen stove-pipes, heard their cries of distress and hastened to their assistance. Dr. Tuthill never quite recovered from the dreadful effects of the storm.

Having mentioned the Suspension bridge, I will give you a short description of the ceremonies connected with the opening. A procession was formed, comprising nearly all the people of the town, and many from the surrounding country, which proceeded to the environs of the Chaudiere. The bridge was thrown open for traffic on the 17th of September, 1844, by the discharge of a cannon, the waving of flags and the cheers of the multitude. The occasion of the opening of the bridge was the largest demonstration that Bytown had ever witnessed. A ball in commemoration of the event took place in the evening at Doran's hotel, Wellington street, now the Cecil. If I remember correctly, Mr. Sam'l Keefer was the engineer in charge of the erection of the bridge, a brother of Mr. Thomas Keefer, one of our citizens, who married a daughter of the late Hon. Thos. McKay.

The Rideau Canal took nearly six years to construct. There are between the Ottawa River and Lake Ontario forty-seven locks and twenty-four dams. The Canal cost over four million dollars. The money which came out from England for carrying on this great work was all in half-crown pieces and they came packed in small kegs, such as are used for packing nails. They tell a story that one day when half a dozen of these valuable kegs were being conveyed from the steamboat landing to the Government office, the head came out of one of them, unobserved by the men in charge. Consequently for a short time, money was literally to be had for picking up in the street, verifying

the old country saying of years ago that, "in America gold could be picked up in the streets."

The first steamer passed through the Locks on the 29th of May, 1832. It was then called "The Pumper," afterwards "The Union." When the people of Bytown assembled at the Canal to see the first steamer pass through the Locks, how little they thought what a bright future awaited their little Town.

Col. By was a fine, soldierly looking man, about five feet ten or eleven inches in height. His hair was dark, complexion rather florid. His portly form and splendid black charger were once well known to the old residents of Bytown. He was a man who administered affairs by military rule, and for a long period he was the chief authority in the village. Nevertheless, he was a man of most charitable disposition, enlarged views and a good heart, and at the head of the department to which he belonged, an able and efficient officer. He was always willing to encourage everything calculated to advance the prosperity of Bytown, and ever ready to oppose what he believed calculated to militate against its interests.

The Canal being completed Col. By returned to England in 1835 or 1836, having accomplished one of the greatest boons that could have been conferred upon Ottawa at that time, for however unremunerative the Canal may be at present, it was in the earlier days a valuable channel of communication.

It is related that long before the name of Col. By was ever heard in this part of the world, before an axe had resounded in Centre Town, and when the wild deer used to scamper between Ashburnham and Sandy Hills, two men might have been seen strolling along the beach in Hull. One of them, the Earl of Dalhousie, said to his companion, "His Grace the Duke of Wellington has lately proposed a scheme for uniting the Grand River with Lake Ontario. If such an event should happen, do not be surprised if one day you should see yonder eminence (and pointed to the Barrack Hill) the seat of Government for the two Canadas."

This prophecy has been fulfilled.

Col. By always predicted a brilliant future for this place; he also entertained the idea of the union of the Provinces, and that Bytown would be selected as the Capital. Very little credence was given to his words. It did not seem possible or probable that a small village, sur-

rounded by forest, would acquire one day the proud distinction of being the Metropolis of United Canada.

To Col. By Ottawa owes a debt of gratitude which should have been acknowledged in some shape ere this. It is to be hoped that the citizens of Ottawa will not forget their indebtedness, and before long render a worthy tribute to the memory of the founder of their now beautiful and prosperous city.

I do not think I can bring this paper to a better conclusion than by quoting a few lines from "The Recollections of Old Bytown," written by the late Mm. William Pittman Lett, who has written so much both in prose and poetry, concerning its inhabitants, and to whom the Old Twenty-Seventh and their descendants are very much indebted for kindly notices.

He says of Col. By:—

"As o'er the past my vision runs,
Gazing on Bytown's elder sons,
The portly Colonel I behold,
As plainly as in the days of old,
Conjured before me at this hour,
By memory's undying power;
Seated on his great black steed,
Of stately form and noble breed,
A man who knew not how to flinch,
A British soldier every inch,
Courteous alike to low and high,
A gentleman was Col. By."

M. A. FRIEL.

# A Glimpse of Our City Fifty Years Ago.

The work of constructing the Rideau Canal was begun in 18?6. On the 21st of September of that year the first sod was turned. In March 1827, two companies of Royal Engineers were sent out from England to assist in the construction of the canal. They arrived here in June and were located in tents on Nepean Point. They soon erected barracks on Parliament Hill, where the library now stands. Parliament Hill was thickly wooded, except where it had been cleared for the barracks. Then came laborers to work on the canal. Tradesmen, merchants and others flocked in great numbers to "Nepean Point," as the little hamlet was called, so that by the close of the year there was quite a settlement east of the canal, though confined almost entirely to Rideau and Sussex streets. A number of houses had also been erected on Wellington street, more than half a mile west of the canal, but what is now Sparks street was then a bleak and desolate hill abounding with boulders, many of them several tons in weight.

A village seemed to spring up as if by magic. It is said that in 1828 there were no less than fifteen general stores, eight shoemakers' shops, two tailor shops, three jewellery stores, one butcher's shop, four bakeries, three blacksmith's shops, one chandler's, one tinsmith's, and one harness shop. A great many men were employed in constructing the seven locks at the terminus of the canal. Some settlers in the township of Osgoode, twenty miles distant, heard the noise of the blasting, but had no idea what was the cause, for no news had penetrated to them concerning the construction of the canal. There were no newspapers published in this part of Canada at that early date, and not even a road leading from Osgoode to the Ottawa river.

Business was brisk, money circulated freely, but there was a great scarcity of small change. In order to get over that difficulty sixpence and shillings were cut in two.

Sapper's Bridge was built in 1828. It is a substantial structure, for like the ancient Romans, Britain's Royal Engineers knew how to

build bridges that would last for centuries. It is said that Lord Dalhousie and Col. By were one day standing near the terminus of the canal gazing across the Ottawa at the then independent province of Lower Canada, when his lordship said: "I may not live to see it, but this place will one day be the capital of United Canada."

On the 29th of May, 1832, the first steamer passed through the locks. Three years before the name of the place was changed to Bytown in honor of Col. By, under whose supervision the work of constructing the canal was carried on.

Rideau Hall was built in 1838. A wealthy citizen of Ottawa recently deceased, lived in 1839, in a house constructed of logs cut upon a lot which now forms the southeast corner of Market Square. On one occasion, when looking for a stray cow, both he and his wife were lost in the swamp and had some difficulty in finding their way home.

The Union Suspension Bridge was built in the summer of 1844. It was a great boon to the inhabitants of Bytown. The road leading from the canal to Upper Town went in a southwestern direction from Sapper's Bridge. The corner of the Russell House and also the Grand Union Hotel are built over the roadway. A few yards west of the bridge was a high fence, formed of cedar posts set close together. It enclosed the old burial ground. When walking along the road, the cemetery was on the right hand and a cedar bush on the left. West of the burial ground the road turned northwest till Bank street was reached. There was only a foot path from the west end of Sapper's Bridge across the hill to the corner of Wellington and Bank streets, and Sparks street only extended as far east as Bank street. In the summer of 1849 it was opened up all the way to Sapper's Bridge. In that same year Sussex street, which had only extended as far as Rideau street, was opened up to the canal basin.

Having with difficulty climbed the steep and slippery ascent leading from Cummings' Bridge to the east end of Rideau street,, we stand and look around. On the north side of the street is the Episcopalian and Presbyterian burial ground, enclosed by a board fence. A little further west is the Methodist burial ground. We know it from the others because it is enclosed by a different sort of fence. The Roman Catholic burial ground adjoins it. A short distance south of Rideau street is a cedar swamp. There are two new streets somewhere in that direction, but there is nothing to indicate exactly where. One is named Theodore, after Mr. Theodore Besserer, the owner of the property and

the other is called Wilbrod, after Mr. Besserer's eldest son. Stewart street has not been opened up east of King. The eastern half of Daly street is impassable, owing to the great number of stumps of trees which have not yet been removed. There are two houses on Besserer street, and seven or eight on Rideau street, east of King street. On the corner of Daly and Cumberland streets stands Knox Church, a plain wooden building painted white. East of the church are seven good dwelling houses, and between it and the Court House there are ten other houses. On Ottawa street, near Daly, is the Bytown grammar school and half a dozen houses on each end of Nicholas street, while about the middle, on the west side of the street is a field of Indian corn. On the opposite side of the street is a common, while a little further north we perceive the Court House and the Albion Hotel.

Continuing our walk along Rideau street, we encounter near King street a private school for young ladies. We pass several houses, two or three gardens, a field of potatoes and a lane leading to George street. On each side of this lane are four whitewashed log cabins, which were built for the accommodation of the laborers employed at the canal locks. On the opposite side of the street is a small red brick building, standing with the end towards the street, and we can read on a stone over the entrance the words, "Wesleyan Chapel." West of Nicholas street we pass two hotels, the officeof the "Advocate," one tinsmith's shop, two hat shops, harness, hardware, and jewellers' shops, one chandler's shop, and half a dozen general stores; also the Bank of Upper Canada agency.

The bywash from the canal, or creek, as it is usually called, runs across Rideau street, along Mosgrove street to George, down it to Dalhousie, where it crosses over to York street, thence by way of King and St. Andrew's street to the Rideau river.

At the corner of York and Dalhousie streets is the Episcopal Methodist church. It is the smallest church in Bytown and extremely plain. Looking north and east, all the houses in sight are built of wood and are only one or one and a half stories in height.

The wooden market which stands on the middle of Byward Market Square, was built in 1848. On the west side of the square is a high fence. We notice there are a number of bullet holes in the board fence and we recall how they come to be there. Lord Elgin, Governor of Canada, was expected to visit Bytown in the autumn of 1849. A public meeting was to have been held on the Byward Market Square on Monday, September 17th, for the purpose of making arrangements

for the reception of the Governor, but instead of a meeting there was a riot. Some years ago the writer got an account of the proceedings from a friend who happened to be an eye-witness. The individual referred to, called on an acquaintance who lived on York street. She took a seat at an upper window and watched the people as they essembled for the meeting. Proceedings commenced at 3 p.m. About fifteen minutes later a prominent politician of that day was in the act of addressing the crowd, when some person supposed to be of the opposite party, surreptitiously removed the support from one end of the temporary platform. A war of words followed, blows were struck, soon stones were flying in every direction. Those who were looking out of the window fled in terror to a safer place. Then firing was heard and the occupants of the house with their visitor sought refuge in the woodshed, where they remained till all was quiet on the Market Square. As the result of the firing one unoffending citizen was fatally shot and several others severely wounded. The military were called out to quell the disturbance. At five o'clock Mayor Hervey read the riot act, and the town was placed under martial law. There was great excitement in the town for some weeks afterwards. A number of special constables were appointed who were not in uniform, but were obliged to wear a badge on the left arm.

As we walk up Clarence street we pass the City Hotel, a two story stone building and two or three smaller hotels. We pass the church of Notre Dame. It is a large church already; yet the back part of it is built of wood, for it is expected an addition will be required in the course of a few years. A little further down the street we see a convent. We will not walk further down as there are scarcely any houses to be seen. There is a thick growth of small cedar trees on both sides of the road. The road leading down to the wharf is very steep and dangerous. There are a good many stores, also a number of hotels on Sussex street which is considered the best business street in the town, although it has suffered greatly from fires. In the summer of 1846 a fire which started near St. Patrick street, swept all before it till it reached the stone wall and tin roof of the British hotel at the corner of George street. At the head of Sussex street there is a large new stone building, where a good business is done in the dry goods and grocery lines. Opposite the head of George street is the cab stand. The cabs have only two wheels, and are drawn by one horse. As we approach Sappers' Bridge, we get a glimpse of a cottage among the trees on Major's Hill. There is no sidewalk on Sappers' Bridge; but a plank walk was laid last summer on the south side of Sparks street. Elgin street was opened about the time Lord Elgin, after whom it is

named, was appointed Governor of Canada. On the west side of Elgin, between Wellington and Sparks streets, there is a small three-cornered plastered house that is exactly the shape of a smoothing iron and stands with the point towards Sparks street. A little further south is a dilapidated cedar fence which formerly enclosed the cemetery. Close to the old fence is a large frame building in an unfinished condition. It is the Congregational Church on Sundays, and on week days it is a young ladies' seminary, taught by the Misses Fraser.

The only other building on Elgin street is the Market. It has been built exactly like the one on Byward Square, but has not yet been used for the purpose for which it was intended.

Looking along the north side of Sparks street we do not see any house east of Kent street. On the south side there is no building of any kind till we reach the Methodist Church, which is a few yards west of Bank street. Last summer we saw oats growing inside the log fence, which is close to the sidewalk on our left. The plank walk is about three feet higher than the roadway which is too low, for there is always a pool of liquid mud at the corner of Bank street after a shower of rain. At the west end of Sparks street is the English Church. We can also see six or eight houses and a foundry. At the corner of Bank and Wellington streets is a vacant lot in which there is a thick growth of cedar trees. Looking eastward we see a log fence enclosing the government property. On the north side of the street, at the corner of Bank, we see a large wooden house painted yellow, in which is held a school for boys. The house has one peculiarity, it has windows away up in the eaves of the house. Further west we see the Gazette Office, and beyond the Bytown Post Office. On the south side of the street we see a first-class hotel, called the Dalhousie, then the Bank of Montreal. We see the Customs House on Kent street, then we pass St. Andrew's Church. As we walk along we see dry goods shops where we can get almost anything we wish, provided we have the wherewithal to purchase. On Lyon street we see the Royal Exchange Hotel, a very large white house. At the west end of the street is a great rock, which seems to block up the street, but there is a road around it. We can only see four houses west of the rock, but we do see many trees.

As we walk over the bridge which spans the gully, we recollect that it was named after Capt. Pooley, of the Royal Engineers. Le Breton's Flats is the name given to this corner of Bytown. It derives its name from Capt. LeBreton, a retired naval officer, and one of the earliest settlers on the Flats. We cannot see many houses, for

they are hidden by trees. There are probably as many as twenty, but they are widely scattered. There is a foundry, a grist mill and two small saw mills on the Flats. There are a great many trees on both sides of the road leading to the Chaudiere Falls. There is not a building of any kind to be seen in the vicinity of the Chaudiere, except the toll-gate keeper's house.

Fifty years have run their course,—it is now 1900.

"And when I cast my wandering eyes around,
How grand the sight that doth their vision bound;
A city stands in fair and youthful grace
Where once old Bytown had its primal place.
And lo, in grandeur towering to the skies
In marked splendor upon yonder hill,
Our Legislative Temples proudly rise,
A columned glory of the artist's skill,
Thanks to our Gracious Queen, whose Royal hand
Made Ottawa chief city of the land."

M. JAMIESON.

# A Hero of 50 Years Ago.

One of the old landmarks of Bytown was old St. Andrews Church on the corner of Wellington and Kent streets, the predecessor of the beautiful building which now occupies that site. Its fort-like walls were built in 1832 by the contractor of the Rideau canal locks, Hon. Thos. McKay, with the same thickness of masonry, which were no doubt intended to illustrate perseverance of the saints. The quaint old church, with its long line of stove pipes on either side, with little tin pails hung at intervals to catch the soot, its square box pews with locks and keys, its octagonal pulpit with extinguisher-like sounding board, its egg shaped precentor's desk. I can see it yet with the open windows and the lilacs peeping in, the droning of the summer grasshoppers, the quiet rustle of the soft black silk of the minister's wife, Mrs. Spence, as she glided into her pew on the right side of the pulpit and when seated threw back her veil from a flower-crowded bonnet displaying a beautiful face, the peace of which gave one a sense of repose not always given by the reverend Doctor in the pulpit who banged the Bible and stamped the floor to emphasize his words.

The congregational singing to the tunes of "Devizes" and "Drumclog" was very hearty, and no thought of the present day organs and choirs sealed their lips. But the hopes and fears, the sorrows and griefs were sung into the dear old words following the announcement, "Let us worship God."

But it is of former days and one who came third in the line of ministers I wish to speak today, the line which comprises the names of Crookshanks, McKidd, Durie, Spence, McLardy, Gordon and Herridge. Rev. Wm. Durie was chosen by the colonial committee of the Church of Scotland to the pastorate of St. Andrew's Church, Bytown, and arrived towards the close of 1846. From the first he took the hearts of the people by storm, and his words of burning eloquence held his hearers spellbound. He was not only revered by his congregation but was the warm friend of the sick and poor of all creeds. His days were spent working hand in hand with Rev. Father Molloy minstering to

the helpless Irish emigrants stricken with the "ship fever," as the scourge of typhus which then prevailed was called. It was before the days when the splendid work which is now being carried on by government to assist emigration was thought of, and lying in sheds and under flat-bottomed boats raised to form a shelter, many a poor sufferer from the hills and valleys of dear old Ireland, went home to the Father's house away from all care and suffering. The last pitying, helpful glances of earthly friends were those of Father Molloy and St. Andrew's beloved minister. The strain on sympathy, brain and body was too great, and only nine months after his arrival in Bytown, in the old manse behind the church, the dreadful ship fever laid him low, and despite all the loving care of everybody who could possibly minister to him, he died Sunday morning at 11 o'clock, the 12th of September, 1847. With his dying breath he besought the people to build an hospital for the sick,—words which were a strong incentive to those who erected the Protestant Hospital.

The Bytown Gazette of that day speaks of Mr. Durie as a man of exemplary piety and zeal in the cause of religion, of scientific and literary attainments and amiability of character which justly made him an object of respect and love to all who knew him.

A large concourse of people of all creeds followed his remains to the cemetery, and all the shops in the streets through which the procession passed were closed. One of the brightest spirits and one of the most valuable lives was sacrificed in the cause of Christian charity, and there are Irishmen now in Ottawa and descendants of Irishmen who speak with reverence of his fine spirit of charity.

No memorial of him graces the walls or windows of St. Andrew's church, but his memory speaks wherever the mantle of charity is thrown around the sincere, or a helping hand given to the needy and suffering, a reminder we all need. "Lest we forget. Lest we forget."

MARY MCKAY SCOTT.

# Early Days of Ottawa.

In writing up our Local History we must not pass over the primitive inhabitants, the Algonquin Indians, who, though they did not assist in building up our city were lords of the soil long before the white man ever set foot upon it. Many fierce conflicts have taken place on the shores of our river between the Algonquins and the Iroquois, the French siding with the former, and many relics of these fights have been found in the shape of broken swords, bullets, arrow-heads and rusted firearms, which could be seen in the Mechanics Institute of this city up to '55, and are no doubt still extant. Like all other Indian tribes the Algonquin ideas of religion were dim and uncertain; while the Iroquois thought that the God of the Thunder made his home among the caverns beneath the cataract of Niagara, the Algonquins held the Chaudiere in great reverence, coming long distances to make offerings to the Great Spirit who they imagined hovered over the turbulent waters and whose voice was heard in the deep roar.

As the white man advances the red man recedes, and the English Government having decided to build a canal to unite the waters of the Ottawa with Lake Ontario and to facilitate the transport of troops through the interior of the country, "the white man came," and those left of the Algonquins were obliged to penetrate still deeper into their native forest. Col. By, of the Royal Engineers, who had been sent out and stationed at Quebec some years previously, was the person selected to take charge of the construction of the canal and who accordingly arrived here in 1827, bringing with him some engineers and a number of sappers and marines who did the manual part of the labour, such as picking, digging and excavating, and who built the first bridge over the canal, which with every successive bridge, in the same spot, has been called Sapper's Bridge. My uncle, Mr. James Fitzgibbon, was one of the engineers who accompanied the Colonel from Quebec, and who, with his brother-in-law, Mr. James Black, put up the first frame house in the little town. The previous ones were of log, and the Colonel's house and barracks for the men of stone. This house, painted

white, with gable to the road, stood on the corner of Rideau and Sussex streets, and has long ago given place to a row of shops; the property has changed owners many times and now forms part of the Blackburn estate. In 1831 the canal being completed at a cost of upwards of a million, Colonel By and his family returned to England. During the four years of their stay here they lived on the promontory now known as Major's Hill Park, where Major Bolton and Major Thompson afterwards lived, hence its name. One of Col. By's daughters having married Lord Ashburnham, that part of the city known as Ashburnham Hill was called after Her Ladyship, being her share of the By Estate. It is now called Primrose Hill, though the primroses are conspicuous by their absence.

In '32 Mr. Nicholas Sparks, sr., presented a portion of land at the extreme west of what is now called Sparks street as a site for an Episcopal church. A small stone church was built thereon called Christ Church and consecrated in '33 by Bishop Stuart of Quebec. For the first four years it was only a mission church but in '37 the Rev. S. S. Stone was appointed rector. In '41 a chancel and transept were added to give room to the wonderfully increasing congregation and these were consecrated by Bishop Strachan of Toronto in '43. Old Christ Church was the first and consequently the mother of all the Anglican Churches in the City; it was not "a thing of beauty" but it was loved and missed like an old friend. Though the architecture has been called "conglomerate" the solidity of the masonry and stone work was beyond praise, and when being taken down much of it had to be *blasted* to pieces. The interior was furnished in the style of the day, with high lop-like pews with doors, which means that every family was securely buttoned in, with a ponderous pulpit and reading desk, and three massive galleries with the organ and choir stranded in the centre one. The heating was managed by large wood stoves, with long ranges of pipes decorated with little tin pails which hung over like danger signals all along the line, while the enormous gothic windows innocent of any stained glass, looked down upon all. Two relics of the old church yet remain to us, namely the bell "would it were worthier," which hangs in the Cathedral Tower and the Font which stands just within the main entrance.

But we must now turn our attention to the advancement of the town and find it recorded in the Bytown Gazette, that in '36 the first Dorcas Society was formed, from all denominations, 214 garments made and twenty-seven families helped. In '37 the first timber slides were constructed by Mr. George Buchanan, and in '38 two news-rooms

were established, one in the British Hotel, Upper Town, and one under the appelation of "The Athenæum" in Lower Town.

In '54 Bytown was incorporated as a city, and named Ottawa, and in '58 the Queen decided that Ottawa should be the Capital of Canada.

In '60 the Prince of Wales paid his memorable visit to America, spending three days in Ottawa. His Royal Highness arrived here on the 29th of August by the steamer Phœnix, and was met by the Mayor (Mr. Alex. Workman) and the City Council, the County Council, and a large number of citizens; the Mayor having read an address the Prince made a short, but suitable reply, while the rain descended in torrents upon the whole party. The procession then formed, and escorted His Royal Highness and suite to the Victoria House, now Victoria Chambers, corner of O'Connor and Wellington streets, which had been prepared for them. The next morning at 11 o'clock the Prince laid the foundation stone of our beautiful Parliament Buildings. Rev. Dr. Adamson, Chaplain of the Legislature opened the proceedings with prayer, and as the sun fortunately shone, a large number of spectators were present while the Duke of Newcastle and Earl St. Germans, who formed part of the Royal suite, accompanied the Prince. On Sunday morning the Prince and suite attended morning service at Christ Church, a special pew having been put up for them in the centre aisle. Dr. Adamson and Rev. E. Loucks now Rector of Picton, read prayers and Rev. J. S. Lauder now Dean of the Cathedral, preached. It is needless to say the congregation was a large one.

On Monday morning at 8 o'clock the Royal party left for Arnprior, returning the same day to Almonte and from thence to Brockville, and so ended the Royal visit to Ottawa. Nearly all the old land marks have now passed away, reminding us that we live in an age of rapid change and wonderful progress; for the latter let us be thankful, but we must not forget when gazing upon the purple Laurentians and the restless waters of the Chaudiere as it tosses its white arms of spray heavenwards that at least these are the same as in the days when the Indian lowered the knee to the Great Spirit of the Boiling Cauldron.

EVA READ.

# The Early Settlers of March Township.

The Townships of March, in whose early settlers I would like to interest you this afternoon, is a part of the County of Carleton, and is situated on the south shore of the Ottawa, about twenty miles above this city, and nearly opposite Aylmer, Quebec. It lies adjacent to the townships of Nepean, Torbolton and Huntley, and has an area of 27,993 acres, which at the time of settlement was covered with valuable timber of many varieties. There is a lake in the middle of the township, the origin of whose name, Lake Constance, is a disputed point in the community.

The pioneers of this settlement were, with one or two exceptions, retired military and naval officers, who drew large grants of lands on most liberal terms, and seemed to have chosen their location with more regard to the fine situation and splendid outlook than for the productiveness of the soil. It is said, too, that Sir John Colbourne, at one time Governor of Upper Canada, who had been a military comrade and personally intimate with some of the officers, influenced them in their selection of this locality in preference to Perth or Richmond, whose settlers were also of the army and navy. For though there is much valuable land and many fine farms, the average of its good soil is so small that March is really the poorest township in the county in that respect. The heavy timber it produced seemed to promise a productive soil, but when the ground was burned over in clearing, it proved to be only a thin layer of vegetable mould, which burnt off, leaving the bare, rocky formation. This was especially the case with the lands from Lake Constance to the river front, so that the energy and capital expended in getting a bare existence from this soil would have brought to these settlers wealth and affluence had they made a happier selection from the thousands of acres of the finest farm lands which were then at their option.

But the beauty of the situation is undeniable, as many present can doubtless testify, who have enjoyed that delightful sail on the Ottawa from Aylmer to the Chats. The land, wooded to the shore, rises in a lovely slope from the river, which here begins to curve out into the

broad Deschenes Lake. Midway on the river front, Point Pleasant, a narrow tongue of land, covered with fine trees, breaks the shore line into a pretty bay and mirrors its foliage in the river's depths. And there, across the Ottawa, are the grand Laurentian Hills, which approach very close to the river here, and whose varying color tones and fleeting cloud-shadows give an infinite variety of lovely pictures, and make with the broad, shining river, a splendid setting for the woods and fields, and homes of the farms along the shore.

When a choice of situation for the future capital of Canada was in question, some people seemed to have considered March as a desirable location for the seat of Government, and this opinion calls forth a scornful editorial in the Bytown Gazette of April 16th, 1840. The writer characterizes the idea as "The pretty plausible story about the Township of March being designed as the seat of the United Legislature," and goes on to say "that some spot on the banks of the Ottawa River will be selected for this purpose, we have little doubt—and that Bytown presents the most eligible site has been again and again demonstrated; but that the story about March could have any other foundation than in some of the wags of that township (for wags there are there) is extremely improbable."

The first settler to locate was Captain John Benning Monk, of H.M. 97th Regiment, who arrived in June, 1819, having been paddled and portaged in boats from Montreal, where he had the misfortune to lose his baby daughter. Leaving his wife in Hull, Captain Monk proceeded by river to March, where with his soldier servants, he constructed a rude shanty, to which he brought Mrs. Monk, and which was aptly named Mosquito Cove by the much tormented occupants; and the name still remains to indicate the locality; though the building has long since disappeared. The little house was not altogether waterproof, as we may imagine, and it is told of Mrs. Monk that during heavy rain storms she made an ingenious use of a large tin tea tray, as a shelter for the baby in its cradle, and listened complacently to the tinkle of the rain drops, feeling sure, that baby at least was cosy and dry.

Captain Monk was soon followed by Lt. Read, of the Royal Marines, and his brother, Mr. James Read, Captain Street, Royal Navy; Mr., afterwards the Hon. Hamnet Kirkes Pinhey; Captain Landell, Captain Weatherly, Colonel, afterwards Major-General Lloyd, and Captain Cox, of the 98th; Mr. Daniel Beatty and Captain Stevens, of the 37th Regiment. These were all that took up land in the town-

ship during the year 1819, and the river front was all located during the summer and fall of that year, being divided up among these settlers in proportion to the extent of their grants. The land grants were very large, containing from 1,600 to 500 acres, according to the rank of the officers, privates and civilians receiving 100 acres, and the only condition attached was that the land be settled upon. Mr. Pinhey drew 1,000 acres, and "in consideration of his services to the community in developing the country" was afterwards granted another 1,000 by the Imperial government. The township had not been surveyed when these gentlemen settled, and when this was done in June, 1820, it was found that some had mistaken their location, and even built houses on another's property. But these mistakes seem to have been settled in the most amicable manner. Thus it was found that Captain Monk's first dwelling, Mosquito Cove, was built on part of Lieut. Read's land, so a second and more comfortable clap-board house was erected at Point Pleasant. This was subsequently abandoned for a third and much finer stone dwelling, "Beechmount." Captain Monk had ten children, and among his numerous descendants are several prominent citizens of Ottawa. One son is G. W. Monk, ex-M.P.P. for Carleton County, and Mrs. Charles McNab, a well known member of our society, to whom the writer is indebted for many details of this sketch, is a daughter. The eldest son, the late Benning Monk, was the second child born in March, Patrick Killean, whose parents were servants of Captain Monk, and who afterwards took up land in South March, being the first .

Mr. Hamnet Pinhey, a name well known in Ottawa, and whose descendants are well represented in the membership of the Historical Society, was a wealthy English gentleman most enterprising and progressive, who was also attracted by the beautiful situation of the township, and made a most desirable addition to the settlement. Leaving his wife and two children in England, Mr. Pinhey arrived in March, June, 1820, cleared and planted garden and farm land, and built a comfortable log cottage. He returned to England in March, 1821, for his wife and family, and arrived in March in August of the same year, the sea voyage occupying two months. Soon after his arrival Mr. Pinhey built a grist and saw mill, the first mills in the township, the ruins of which remain yet; and some years after he erected at his own expense the first stone church, a substantial structure of English design, and finished in butternut wood supplied by the trees which grew near by and were cut in Mr. Pinhey's saw mill. This was not, however, the first place of worship in March, for when Captain Weatherley, who had built his house on Captain Street's land by mistake,

vacated the building, Captain Street, who had a house already, converted the house into a church. It was used as such until Mr. Pinhey erected the present stone one. There is an item in the Bytown Gazette of June 13th, 1838, with the heading "The Church in March," which runs as follows: "Our readers will recollect that about two years ago, a paragraph (copied from the London Globe) took the rounds of the provincial papers, setting forth that the Countess of Ross had contributed towards the church in March £300 sterling. We are requested by the gentleman who built the church to state that the building was commenced in the spring of 1825, and completed at Christmas, 1828, and no subscription from that noble lady ,nor any contribution either in England or Ireland has ever been received or solicited towards it."

Mr. Pinhey's superior abilities and enterprise were recognized by the Imperial government, as before mentioned, and justly appreciated by the community, who elected him to several representative offices. He was a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, and the successor of the Hon. Thomas McKay as warden of Dalhousie. His fine residence, named "Horaceville," after the eldest son, and one half of which with the lands is entailed, has somewhat deteriorated. The original house still remains, and to this has been added at different times three stone parts, spacious and well lighted, with a wide central hall having quaint oaken settles, and great oak staircase of unusual width and design. There are many interesting features about this old house which I cannot mention in this limited paper. It has the commodious pantries, wine cellars, plate safe and flagged kitchen of an old English country house.

On the sloping terrace before the house, Mr. Pinhey erected a tall flagstaff and built a platform on which were erected eleven small cannon which had been brought from England, as well as the flag, which through the kindness of a member of the family has decorated the platform, and added to the interest of some of our meetings. These were used on festal occasions and anniversaries, and in 1860 greeted the Prince of Wales with a royal salute as he passed up the river.

Captain Street was a brave and distinguished officer of the navy, who began his career as a little midshipman on one of the ships of the Channel fleet, under Earl Howe, in the memorable engagement off Ushant, with the French, and was presented with the freedom of Liverpool in recognition of gallant and distinguished services. He was the first magistrate in this part of the country, and exercised the

functions of his office, settling disputes, celebrating marriages, etc., for the people not only of March, but of all the surrounding country on both sides of the river. Capt. Street's residence is named "Helensville" after his wife, who survived him, and afterwards was married to Capt. Stevens. The first school house, of hewn logs, was built by Captain Street's son, Mr. J. G. Street, at his own expense, who also maintained a teacher for the first two years.

General Lloyd drew 1,600 acres, and eventually built a very fine stone residence named Bessborough," and which became the property of his niece Mrs. Charles McNab, General Lloyd having no children. But the fearful forest fires of 1870 which swept with such destruction and loss of life through the Ottawa Valley, have left of "Bessborough" only the solidly built walls and gables. He had also acquired some property in Bytown, one of whose streets is named after him, Lloyd Street.

Captain Weatherly was a bachelor, and seems to have tired of his Canadian homestead, for he sold out to a Mr. Didsbury, an English farmer of means, who with imported stock and advanced methods, started scientific farming and stock raising, but was not successful. He in turn sold his farm to Mr. Berry, who seems to have found brewing a more profitable occupation than fancy farming.

In 1820 a number of settlers came in and located near the Huntley line and South March. These were the Armstrongs, Grahams, Morgans, Richardsons, Gleesons, Bouchers, and Captains Logan and Bradley, and Dr. Christie of the navy, who afterwards removed to Bytown, and became editor of the Bytown Gazette. This family is a well known one in Ottawa, a granddaughter being enrolled in the Historical Society. After four years the free grants were discontinued, and we do not consider as early settlers those who later acquired lands and settled in March. For our interest centres in those men and women who came first to the unbroken forest and unsurveyed lands of March by weary stages of canoe and portage; who endured privations and faced danger with a courage and hope that were heroic. There were no steamers on the Ottawa in those days—no railway communication with Montreal, whence all their provisions had to be brought once or twice a year. All goods had to be brought by land to Lachine and loaded in batteaux for Point Fortune where the goods were transferred to carts and portaged to Hawkesbury. There batteaux were again loaded for Hull, where they were landed, and conveyed to the lake shore at Aylmer, and lastly transferred again to boats for March. One

lady of March used to tell that once, just before the time had arrived to receive supplies, on going to her nearly empty tea caddy, she found her small son had filled it up with "nice clean" sand, and she shed tears of vexation and disappointment over that buried tea.

Bears were numerous in those days, often carrying off calves and pigs from the farm yards; wolves infested the forest, and even the little squirrels and chipmunks made themselves enemies to the settlers by devouring the growing grain. These were some of the hardships of the March pioneers, but being people of education and refinement, they had resources within themselves, which helped them to forget the disadvantages of their environments, and the "bon camaraderie" which was the dominant characteristic of the settlement, seems to have developed into warmer sentiment in many of their children, as is evinced by the frequency of intermarriage in the families of the first settlers of that township.

In closing this very imperfect sketch of March's earliest settlers I would refer briefly to the origin of the township's name. The Duke of Richmond, Governor-General of Canada, having journeyed over the proposed route of the Rideau Canal from Kingston, in the summer of 1819, arrived at the settlement of Richmond near Ottawa, where he spent a day, and was entertained by some of the officers already settled there. It was at this dinner that the township was named, in compliment to the Duke for his son the Earl of March. This was the last evening in the life of the Governor-General, for his sad death from hydrophobia occurred next day, and the son whose name was given to the new township, became the next Duke of Richmond.

MARGARET HOWITT AHEARN.

# Renfrew in the Early Days.

The only incident connecting the County of Renfrew with the very early history of Canada is the history of Champlain's first trip up the Ottawa in the year 1613. Although the result of his trip was fruitless in discovery, yet to us it is important as it gives us a very clear insight into the character of the man whom we, as Canadians, whether we be of French or British parentage, are justly proud. Champlain was persuaded to make this journey by the account given to the French court by a young man, De Vignau, who had been sent to stay with Champlain's Indian friends in the County of Renfrew. A wonderful story it was of a trip he had taken with the Indians into the land of the Nipissings. He spoke of the large lake they crossed, of the river flowing northward which led them to the open sea, Here, in this sea, he said they found the wreck of an English ship, whose crew escaped to land only to meet a terrible death at the hands of the Indians. The open sea he showed by a map, could be reached in a seventeen days' journey from Montreal. Early in the spring Champlain crossed the Atlantic and on Monday, the twenty-seventh of May, set out from Montreal on his journey of discovery. His companions were De Vignau, three other Frenchmen and one Indian. It was a long and toilsome journey, and on reaching Allumette Island, opposite to where Pembroke now is, he found that De Vignau had basely deceived him. The Indians assured Champlain that if De Vignau had taken this journey it must have been during his sleep. Champlain urged De Vignau to tell the truth, but it was not until he threatened him with death that De Vignau acknowledged the shameful fact that the whole story was a fabrication. Although grievously disappointed, the great hearted explorer forgave the impostor and with him returned to Montreal in the month of June. It was on this trip that Champlain lost the astrolabe that in 1867, two hundred and fifty-four years later, was ploughed up near Muskrat Lake in this county.

For a long time after this the county was the home of the Indian alone. His sovereignty was not invaded until 1821, when a near connection of my own established and took charge of Hudson Bay posts at Golden Lake, The Chats, and at Fort Coulonge. A fur trader at this time lived indeed near to nature's heart. The rivalry between the

Hudson Bay and the North West trading companies induced the traders to take long journeys to Indian encampments instead of waiting, as they had done, until the Indians came themselves to the posts. Very often the young trader, with his tuque drawn over his head and wrapped in his blanket, was forced to sleep under a snowy covering amongst the pines of the forest.

It was only seven years after this that the lumber trade which started on the Ottawa extended to the Madawaska, Bonnechere and Petawawa, all thickly wooded streams. This, as we might suppose, attracted many Scotch, English, Irish and French families to settle in the county.

It is hard for us with our easy modes of transit to understand what it meant in those days to settle in our country. In 1828 one of Pembroke's settlers took fourteen days to bring his family in a canoe from Bytown to their future home, a journey now taking but two hours and a half.

Travelling was not the only difficulty to be met with. Probably a more serious undertaking was the making of a home in these wilds. Renfrew presented a stern front to her early wooers. Particularly forbidding was she to those whose early training ill prepared them for the hardships of a backwoods life. The only kind of houses they could make were of logs, rough logs without plaster. The roofs were made of hollowed trees, and these certainly kept out the rain better than the walls succeeded with the north wind.

May I tell you how different it is now for the descendants of these early settlers when they seek new homes in Manitoba or our Northwest. The C.P.R. provides a box car in which each man carries his goods. The unmarried man puts his two horses and two cows in one end of his car, a wooden house in sections in the other along with a waggon and a plough, fodder in the middle, and then gets in himself with some food, is put off beside the track between Winnipeg and the Rockies some fine morning, has his home ready by the afternoon and three quarters of an acre of his land broken by the evening.

Probable in no other way can we better understand the life of a Renfrew farmer of this time than by considering the first fruits of his land. It was not grain as might be at first thought but potash. This product was made from wood. After clearing the land the wood was collected and burned, and the ashes placed into large wedge-shaped vessels. Water was then poured on and the lye from the leaches

boiled until it looked like molten iron. This then was poured into coolers, two of which filled a barrel and a barrel of potash of first quality was worth thirty dollars. A farmer received on account twelve dollars from the local merchant for each barrel, then he waited patiently for the rest until the merchant returned from Montreal where he got ready money for all the potash entrusted to him.

After the land was cleared and the wheat grown, the important question of converting it into flour presented itself. One settler tells of his carrying a bag of wheat twelve miles to have it ground in a coffee mill. On his return he was tired and hungry and entered a farm house, where he was treated to the best his hostess had, potatoes without salt. Years after when wealth had come to both of them he told the story, and being asked the name of his kind hostess with a merry twinkle in his eye and in very broad Scotch he replied, "Aye, I'll no tell ye that."

In our day, with almost everything at hand, it is hard to realize what it must have been to be a housekeeper at that time. With the possibility of being absolutely without sugar, tea and vinegar, you can easily imagine the housekeeper's anxiety to see that the maple bush provided her with sugar and syrup sufficient for the year, that the jars of water with the vinegar plant were never empty, and that a supply of Labrador tea was gathered in. This tea was made of the leaf of a small shrub which grew on the edge of swamps and streams, and it was a very fair substitute for the real article.

The providing of light was also a great work for the mistress of a home. Wicks about half a yard long were dipped into boiling tallow, cooled, then dipped again and re-dipped until they assumed the proportions of candles. The introduction of moulds came later, and greatly simplified this labor.

Bread-making before hops were grown was another difficulty that taxed the housekeeper's powers. A cake raised from a preparation of burned hardwood was made into a loaf and baked in a deep covered pan. This was indeed a very palatable bread. Many years ago an old lady showed me a house where a party was given at which the bread was made in this way and from flour carried on horseback from Perth, a distance of sixty miles. Another way and a later one was the raising of a loaf by fermented bran. This made a very white sweet cake, but it dried very quickly.

Our native fruits—strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, cherries and blueberries—followed the clearing of the land. Cranberries from

the first had been brought to the settlers by the Indians, which also supplied them with the game and fish of the district.

The first apples brought into the country were those which the Caughnawaga Indians sold on their return from the Lake of the Two Mountains to Golden Lake, where they spent the winter. These little, round, hard apples were the delight of the children of the settlement.

The work of a house was not finished when the food and light were provided. The spinning wheel and weaver's loom, were used in many homes, and the homespun flannel was made into suits for men and boys by a tailor who went from house to house. However, when villages sprang up, the business of the itinerant tradesman passed away.

The religious welfare of the people was carefully looked after by faithful and devoted Roman Catholic and Protestant clergymen. During the summer months the services were often held in the open air, and many a son and daughter of the county were baptized in these temples.

The education of the children was not such a problem as one might imagine. Many young men of culture and refinement came to Canada thinking it was an Eldorado for sportsmen, and it was not until they arrived that they found that the struggle for existence was too keen and earnest to allow men much time for out-door amusements. These men in many cases entered the teaching profession and made it a marked success.

Before 1844 Renfrew and Lanark had the same representative in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada. A story is told of one of these early members who bore a striking resemblance to the then Governor, Sir Edmund Head. On one occasion on a trip up west he was recognized as the governor and to his astonishment a deputation met him, presenting him with an address. With the ready wit of an Irishman he replied in such a felicitous manner that he won golden opinions from all those who had the pleasure of hearing him. It was said that Sir Edmund Head never quite forgave the talented impersonator.

His son possessed a great deal of his father's ready wit. In the time of business reverses after everything was settled to his creditors' satisfaction, he hesitatingly told them that he had still some valuable jewels in his possession. He was at once informed that these jewels too must be given up. To this he replied: "Oh, no! You cannot take from me my wife and children."

In 1854 Renfrew was separated from Lanark for electoral purposes and was represented by Sir Frances Hincks, the great financier and Premier of Canada. He was followed by Supple, McDougall, Cayley and McLachlin.

After Confederation, Renfrew herself was divided into the north and south ridings. It was not, however, until 1866, that she gained municipal independence, with a county town of her own.

When the county town was Perth and there were no roads through Renfrew, to be singled out as a juryman meant that the hand of fortune was against you. They were paid 12½ cents for each case they were on. No mileage was allowed them, and in many cases these worthy men who formed that part of the court of law, whose origin is clouded in mystery and which is considered by all British subjects as the bulwark of liberty, came fifty, sixty and seventy miles to attend the courts, often walking most of the way.

No history, however short, is complete without an account of the literature of the period. Probably the most important effort made in this county was the "Annals of Trumpington," a clever parody on Samuel Warren's "Ten Thousand a Year." In it every prominent man in Renfrew and Lanark was written about and generally ridiculed. Instead of praise, the clever author was taken up for libel,—the very first libel suit in the county. This seems rather a barbarous way to treat budding genius, but if we recall some of the characters depicted in that clever novel we will more readily forgive the seeming lack of literary appreciation.

Before closing this paper I must speak of the wonderful success that has attended the efforts of Renfrew's sons. She possesses now many pretty towns and villages, as well as some of the finest dairy farms in the Dominion. In fact, the whole county is smiling with prosperity, nothing now being left of its former wilderness but the small section of the county included in the Algonquin Park.

MRS. J. L. MCDOUGALL.

# Early Settlement of Grenville County.

This county was named in honor of William Windham Grenville, born in 1759, died 1834. He was created Baron Grenville, 1790, and was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1791. He was a brother of George Grenville, third Earl Temple, who was created Marquis of Buckingham, 1784, and a cousin of the Right Honorable William Pitt.

Grenville has five townships. Edwardsburgh, named in honor of Prince Edward, Duke of Kent. Augusta, called after Princess Augusta Sophia, second daughter of King George III. South Gower took its name from Admiral the Honorable John Leveson Gower, second son of the first Earl of Gower, who distinguished himself as commander of Quebec, Wolford, which was named after a property of Governor Simcoe in Devonshire, and Oxford from Oxford on the Thames; also the incorporated villages of Kemptville and Merrickville and the town of Prescott.

The present age is pre-eminently characterized by a spirit of investigation and research and in no department is this spirit more apparent than that of history. To lift the veil which shrouds the misty past, and bring to light the facts connected with the birth and infant days of a nation is a task possessing peculiar charms, not only to the antiquarian who traces the footsteps well worn by time, but also to those who love the legendary tales of long ago. Canada is rich in prehistoric mounds, in scattered relics, in memorable adventures, in pioneer struggles, but above all in the half forgotten and never recorded sufferings, privation and heroism of the "King's men," known as United Empire Loyalists. The history of an empire is but the combined history of its provinces; the history of its provinces the epitome of its several counties and townships.

In July, 1854, W. E. Guest, Esq., made a visit to the mound in the vicinity of Spencerville, in the county of Grenville, furnishing a report for the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, said report being subsequently published, and from which we quote: "Hundreds and thousands of years before the white man's foot had pressed the soil of the

new world, there lived and flourished a race of men who called this continent their home. Had they written history, what deeds of chivalry might we not peruse. One of the principal mounds in Canada is situated in the township of Augusta, about eight miles and a half from Prescott, on a farm formerly occupied by Mr. Tarp. The other work is situated in the township of Edwardsburg, near Spencerville, on an elevated piece of ground, is well chosen for defence, and overlooks the surrounding country to a great distance. It consists of an embankment in the shape of a moccasined foot, the heel pointing to the south, and enclosing about three and a half acres of ground; the location being the front half of lot 27, in the seventh concession of Edwardsburg. This enclosure has been cultivated for several years. Some parts of the embankment are from two to three feet high. On these there are some enormous pine stumps, one of which is nearly five feet in diameter. Many pieces of pottery have been found in the enclosure similar to those discovered in Augusta; also pieces of clay pipes, one of them richly ornamented, and a stone implement sharpened to a point which was doubtless used for dressing skins. There are also human bones scattered over the field, which the plow has turned up. The "terra cotta" found here is elaborate in its workmanship, and is as hard as stoneware of the present day. It seems to be composed of quartz pounded up and mixed with clay, which adds to its hardness; and as to beauty of shape, some of the restored articles will compare favorably with those shown in the Italian department at the Centennial. These vessels have been found from four to eight inches in diameter."

Mr. Guest has also found a few rounded pieces of pottery in the shape of coin. He also discovered one beautifully polished bone needle about five inches long, with an eye rudely perforated, and a piece of ivory in the shape of a knife, made of a shark's tooth, which had some marks upon it by which the owner evidently intended to identify it. On a subsequent visit, he obtained an earthen pipe complete and a piece of human skull with several notches cut in the edge, and evidently intended for a saw. The great size of trees, the stumps of which remain on the embankment, are evidence of the long time that has elapsed since these monuments were erected; and the fact that the bones of the walrus and shark were found, shows the acquaintance of the original occupants with the sea; while the entire absence of stone pipes and arrow heads of the same material, which belong to a later age, properly designated Indian, as well as the entire deficiency of materials or anything European to connect them with the western or southern tribes, and the significant fact that no remains of a similar kind have been found on the borders of the St. Lawrence,

but that they are always situated upon terraces from one to two hundred feet above the present level of the water, is all strong proof of their antiquity compared with those of a much lower level, in which to this day, stone pipes and copper articles are found. Canada awaits the advent of one who shall by indisputable evidence from mound to monument unfold the history which so far has defied the genius of her most gifted sons.

When the revolutionary war closed, the British Government adopted a policy of prudence and liberty, by granting to the Loyalist refugees large tracts of land, in partial recompense for the losses sustained in adhering to the Old Flag. The result has been to build up, to the north of the St. Lawrence, a confederation strong in British principles and offering a bulwark against the spread of republicanism in North America. Previous to the arrival of the first settlers in the spring of 1784, partial surveys had been made of the townships fronting the St. Lawrence, Major Holland having charge of the same. The United Empire certificates of ownership became articles of barter. Many of the parties who drew land never examined it, and, if the location was in the rear townships, it was considered almost worthless. It, therefore, happened that lots were sold for a mere song, and in many instances given away. Two hundred acres now comprised in one of the best farms in the township of Bastard, were offered for a pair of coarse boots, but the offer was refused. Storekeepers bought up the location tickets for a calico dress, and resold the same land to emigrants at from two to four dollars an acre. The first operation of the new settler was to erect a shanty, which generally consisted of a log cabin, about 15 by 20. One door and one window were considered sufficient. The roof was constructed by placing straight poles lengthwise of the building, over which were spread strips of elm bark four feet in length, and from one to two feet in width, the layers overlapping each other and held down by poles above, which were fastened by means of withes, to those below. The hearth was made of flat stones, as well as the fireback, which was carried up as high as the logs, in some instances; in others, the chimney consisted of a flue made of green timber, plastered with mud. No boards could be produced for a floor, consequently the material was split out of basswood logs, and planed by means of a settler's axe. The door frequently consisted of a blanket, while the furniture of the cabin was such as could be fashioned with an augur and an axe.

The following interesting memoir was furnished by the late Adiel Sherwood, Esq., sheriff of the District of Johnstown for thirty-five years, to Dr. Caniff, of Toronto:—

"At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, in 1783, the first settlers of Upper Canada were residing in Lower Canada, at and between Quebec and Montreal. Two provincial corps deserve especial notice; they were stationed at St. John's, about 27 miles from Montreal, on the south side of the River St. Lawrence. One was commanded by Major Jessus, the other by Major Rogers, the forces under their command being actually the very first settlers of Leeds and Grenville.

"About the first of June, 1784, they came up and located along the bank of the St. Lawrence. The total number of new settlers who entered the province in 1784 was computed at 10,000.

"The river was ascended by means of small boats called batteaux. These barques were built at Lachine, and were capable of carrying from four to five families each. Twelve boats constituted a brigade. Each brigade was placed under the command of a conductor, with five men in each boat, two of whom were placed on each side to row, with one in the stern to steer. It was the duty of the conductor to give directions for the safe management of the flotilla. When a rapid was ascended, part of the boats were left at the foot in charge of one man, the remaining boats being doubly manned and drawn up by means of a rope fastened to the bow, leaving four men in the boat with setting poles to assist.

"The men at the end of the rope walked along the bank, but were frequently compelled to wade in the current upon the jagged rocks. On reaching the head of the rapid, one man was left in charge and the boatmen returned for the balance of the brigade.

The Loyalists were furnished rations by the government until they could clear the land and provide for themselves. The seed given consisted of spring wheat, peas, Indian corn and potatoes. Farming and other implements were provided, consisting of axes, hoes, augers, etc., and in some instances a kind of metal mill, in which to grind their corn and wheat. I am not aware that any of the mills were distributed in Leeds and Grenville. Commissioners were appointed to issue the rations and other supplies. At that time the country was a howling wilderness. Not a single tree had been cut by an actual settler from the province line to Kingston, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. I saw the first tree cut by an actual settler; the first hill of corn and potatoes planted, but alas, where is the axe, or the man, that did the work? Not a single individual that I am aware of, is now living of the first settlers but myself.

While many difficulties were encountered in the early settlement, yet we realized many advantages. We were always supplied with venison; deer were very plentiful, partridge and pigeons in abundance; plenty of fish for all who wished to catch them; no taxes to pay, and an abundance of wood at our doors. Although deprived of many kinds of fruit, we obtained the natural productions of the country—strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, blackberries and plenty of red plums. Cranberries were found in abundance in the marshes. The only animal we brought with us was a little dog named Tipler, that proved almost invaluable in hunting.

"After the first year we raised a supply of Indian corn, but had no mill to grind it, and were, therefore, compelled to pound it in a large mortar, manufacturing what we call 'Samp,' which was made into Indian bread, called by the Dutch 'Suppawn.' The mortar was constructed in the following manner: We cut a log from a large tree, say two and a half feet in diameter and six feet in length, painted firmly in the ground, so that about two feet projected above the surface; then carefully burned the centre of the top so as to form a considerable cavity, which was then scrapped clean. We generally selected a tree about six inches in diameter to form the pestle.

"Although this simple contrivance did well enough for corn, it did not answer for grinding wheat. The government, seeing the difficulty, built a mill back of Kingston, where the inhabitants for seven miles below Brockville got their grinding done. In our neighborhood they got along very well in summer by lashing two canoes together. Three persons would unite to manage the craft, each taking a grist. It generally took about a week to perform the journey. After horses were procured, kind Providence furnished a road on the ice, until the road was passable by land. What is wonderful is that during the past fifty years it has not been practicable for horses and sleighs to traverse the ice from Brockville to Kingston, such a way having been provided only when absolutely necessary for the settlers.

"In 1811 the Rev. William Smart arrived in Brockville, being the first minister of any denomination to settle in that place, or for that matter within fifty miles of it. At that time magistrates were legally qualified to perform the marriage ceremony.

"The first doctor was Solomon Jones, domiciled about seven miles below Brockville. The first lawyer appointed in the district of Johnstown was Samuel Sherwood. He was one of the first magistrates and afterwards judge of the district court."

The present generation of Canadians are almost ignorant of the fact that the institution of slavery once existed in Canada. The proud and pleasing appellation which Canada enjoyed for so many years as a safe asylum for slaves who had effected their escape from the United States, is in most cases alone known to have belonged to us. But the record of our young country is so honorable upon the question of slavery that the fact that slaves did once breathe amongst us, casts no stigma upon the maple leaf, no single stain upon her virgin garments. The fact is, slavery could not live in Canada, much less grow. The leading principles which guided the settlers of the country were of too noble a nature to accept the monstrous system of human bondage as an appendage of the colony.

At the second session of parliament in Upper Canada an act was passed to prevent the further introduction of slaves. And when the British act of emancipation was passed in 1833 setting free the slaves in all parts of the Empire, there were no slaves in Canada. Thirty years previous, when the families, both of English and Dutch nationality, came as refugees to Canada, there accompanied them a number of slaves. Sheriff Sherwood says: "In answer to a letter by Dr. Canniff, as regards slaves, I only recollect two or three who settled in the district of Johnstown; one in particular, named Caesar Congo, owned by Captain Justice Sherwood, who came with his family in the same brigade of boats with my father, and located about two miles above Prescott. I recollect distinctly Caesar Congo, then a stout young man, and who often took the late Mr. Justice Sherwood and myself on his back to assist us along while the boats were drawn up the rapids. Caesar was sold to a half pay officer named Bottom, who settled about six miles above Prescott. After twenty years service Mr. Bottom gave Caesar his freedom, Caesar then married a free colored woman and settled in the town of Brockville, where he lived many years and died. Daniel Jones, father of the late Sir Daniel Jones, of Brockville, had at one time a female colored slave. There were a few more slaves residing in the district, but so far from my residence that I can give no account of them from personal knowledge."

In the Ottawa Citizen of 1867 appeared the following: "A British slave.—An old negro appeared at the Court of Assize yesterday in a case of Morris vs. Henderson. He is 101 years of age and was formerly a slave of a United Empire Loyalist who brought him to Canada. He fought through the American war in 1812 on the side of the British, was at the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, and was wounded at Sacket's Harbor. He is in full possession of all his facul-

ties. He was brought to this city to prove the death of a person in 1803 and another in 1804."

I will give a short account of the Burritt family coming into Canada, being the first settlers on the Rideau. Their son, Edmund Burritt, was the first white child born on the Rideau river, and was father of Alex. Burritt, registrar of the city of Ottawa, Stephen, with his brother, Adoniram Burritt, were both engaged on the Royalist side at the battle of Bennington, Vermont. After the engagement they found a wounded American and took him to a place of safety, where he was kindly nursed and finally recovered. One year after, the Burritts were arrested by the continental authorities and thrown into Bennington jail. By chance, the young American whose life they had saved, was placed on guard over the prisoners. Recognizing his benefactors, he devised a scheme for their escape, which was successful. After escaping from jail, Stephen made his way to St. John's Quebec, where he joined the British army. The remainder of the family did not come to Canada until the close of the war. After Stephen received his discharge, he came up the St. Lawrence on a trading voyage, buying furs from the Indians. As a United Empire Loyalist, he drew lot 29, in the first concession of Augusta. Returning to St. John's, he met his father (Daniel) and family, all of whom removed to Augusta, where Daniel, the father of the family, died at the advanced age of 97 years and 9 months.

Stephen went out on the Rideau on an exploring expedition, striking the river at Cox Bay, where he constructed a raft and floated down to Burritt's Rapids, which spot he chose for settlement. It was there that Col. Edmund Burritt was born, the first white child on the Rideau, the date being December 8th, 1793. Stephen Burritt was the first white settler north of the Rideau, undergoing severe trials and privations for a long time, carrying his provisions on his back for thirty miles. At one time while chopping, he was attacked by an Indian, who ordered him to quit the hunting grounds of the tribe. The struggle was a desperate one; but at last the Indian was thrown to the ground and an axe held over his head, when he begged for mercy and promised friendship, a promise which he faithfully fulfilled. While in the army, and quite young, Mr. Burritt was employed by Baron St. Ledger as a writer of war despatches. Subsequently, he joined the regiment and took part in the battles of Gage's Hill, (where he was wounded), Fort Edward and Saratoga. It was as a discharged member of Rodgers' Corps, that he came to Upper Canada. He was appointed a justice of peace, and in 1810 elected member of Parlia-

ment. General Brock made him a lieutenant-colonel, and reposed the greatest confidence in his judgment and ability. Shortly after Colonel Burritt settled at Burritt's Rapids, he and his wife were attacked with fever and ague. Having no neighbors they were compelled to rely upon themselves. They grew worse and at last were confined to bed and helpless. For three days and three nights they were without fire and food, and fully made up their minds that they must die. At this juncture a band of Indians arrived at the Rapids, entered the log cabin and at once comprehended the situation. The squaws prepared some medicine and food, carefully nursing their white brother and sister until they recovered; the braves in the meantime gathering and storing a field of corn for the sick man. From that day the colonel threw open his house to the dusky sons of the forest, and ever after it was no uncommon thing to wake up in the morning and discover a score of savages reclining in the hall and other parts of the house. When proceeding up the river in the spring they frequently left many articles with the colonel for safe keeping, not forgetting on their return in the fall to present him with a rich gift of furs.

There are many families in the country "pioneers," who soon transformed the forest into prosperous and fertile lands, making the settlement one of the most prosperous on the frontier, of whom I would like to give a detailed account, but time will not permit. A few of these are the Sherwoods, Jones', Dunhams, Jessup, Pennock, Wells, Bottom, Hurd, Bull, Kilborn and some others, who can trace their descent from the United Empire Loyalists.

Prescott was founded by Colonel Jessup, in 1810, the present fort, Wellington, standing upon the homestead of the original pioneer. The windmill situated on Windmill point a short distance below the town, and known to all readers of Canadian history in consequence of the important part it played in the year 1838, was erected by a West India merchant named Hughes, in 1822. Several buildings of a similar character were at an early date built upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, but were soon superseded by mills driven by water power. In 1873 it was converted into a lighthouse. Prescott has the honor of being the birthplace of our distinguished fellow townsman, the Honorable R. W. Scott, Q.C., Secretary of State in our present Parliament of the Dominion of Canada.

MRS. ALEX. BURRITT.

# Early Settlement of Prince Edward County.

Our Historical Society has formed within us a desire to recall and live over again the things of the past, and the enjoyment derived from research often stimulates us to greater effort. In this paper we will try and bring before you a few facts, gleaned from information obtained from descendants of early settlers, when visiting in the county, and from a study of history, relating to the settlement of one of the counties of Ontario, whose natural scenery and beauty can hardly be surpassed, viz., Prince Edward.

The peninsula of Prince Edward or rather island as it may now be called (since the construction of the Murray Canal, across the narrow neck of land, which joined the county to the main shore of Ontario completely surrounded this county by water), derives its name from Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, father of our Queen. It is a rich and beautiful tract of land lying almost in the centre of the Province, about 60 miles in length and from 1 to 20 in breadth, its shores on the north washed by the quiet waters of the Bay of Quinte, and on the south by the more turbulent waters of Lake Ontario.

In a round-about way the Bay of Quinte and Lake Ontario were discovered, for Champlain starting on a voyage of discovery from Montreal, ascended the Ottawa river, crossed to Lake Nipissing by the Mattawa, thence sailed down the French river which empties into the Georgian Bay. He then directed his course south through the many islands which made the coast of the Severn river, and then by a number of inland lakes and streams, among them Simcoe and Rice, he entered the river Trent and arrived at the head of the beautiful bay now called Quinte, in July 1615. He was also the first European to gaze on the broad waters of Lake Ontario or "Fresh water Sea," as he called it.

Indications have been found of an extinct people, who, perhaps centuries before this country was discovered, inhabited the land, but we know little of these early days. Indians of the Massasauga tribe, were in possession of Prince Edward County, and the land round the Bay, about the middle of last century. These Indians were divided

into several tribes and were scattered along the St. Lawrence from the Gananoque River to the shores of the Bay of Quinte. Long before the settlement of this region they were the acknowledged owners of the soil and from them Great Britain purchased her right of ownership. The Indians in relinquishing their claims were promised certain yearly payments in presents, each man receiving 2 blankets, cloth for a coat, a gun, ammunition, and other things.

Yearly excursions the Indians would make to Fort Frontenac (Kingston) to receive these presents, and we are told as many as a thousand at a time would be seen passing down the bay in their canoes.

Several portions of land were reserved for them, after the settlers began to come in, Wanpoose Island in Lake Ontario, a mile from the shore of Prince Edward, was the home of the chief.

The Massasaugas were of a peaceful disposition and the early settlers had little to fear from them.

La Salle, remembered as the discoverer of the Mississippi and the founder of Louisiana, was the first landed proprietor in this county.

He petitioned King Louis XIV of France to grant him large tracts of land from Fort Frontenac (Kingston) westward, including that part of Prince Edward known as Cressy, in the township of Marysburg, for his seigniory, which petition the king granted in 1675.

Although the county was discovered as early as 1615, and formed part of the seigniory of La Salle in 1675, very little or nothing seems to have been done towards the settlement of the region for a hundred years or more. In the meantime Canada passed from the control of the French, 1760, into the hands of Great Britain, and it was not until the colonies, now the United States, began to fight for separation and who gained their independence in 1776 from Great Britain, that Prince Edward and the land around the bay began to be settled. When those who took up arms for the crown during the rebellion, and those who still remained loyal to the motherland, were rewarded, after peace was declared, by receiving grants of land in Canada, large numbers of the "United Empire Loyalists" as they were called settled along the Bay of Quinte and not a few in Prince Edward county, many of their descendants being now found on the same land where first settled their loyal ancestors in 1784.

About the same time a number of Hessian soldiers, who had assisted Great Britain during the rebellion settled in Canada, and were given land in that part of the country known as Marysburg

township, quite a few of their descendants are still living there, the family of Bongard being perhaps best known, whose ancestor served under General Reidesel.

Prince Edward was surveyed and originally divided into three townships, viz. Marysburg, Sophiasburg and Ameliasburg, so named after the daughters of George III, each of these having since been subdivided into Hallowell, Athol and Hillier, making at the present time six townships in the county.

Marysburg, the most easterly township, was the first part of the county to become settled, and by a number of officers and non-commissioned officers of a disbanded regiment, the first to come being Col. Arch. McDonald. He landed in that pretty cove which afterwards bore his name, in 1784, on the shore of which he pitched his tent until his house, the first in the county, was built. This original house was not of rude log cabin style, but was neatly hewn square timber house, dove-tailed at the angles, built, we are told, by ship carpenters, and remained standing all these years, but we are sorry to say was torn down this past summer.

Colonel McDonald never married, but his niece Frances, who lived with him, married a French gentleman named Prinyer. Their son now occupies the land, and during a delightful visit paid to Mr. Prinyer and his family this summer, we heard much that was interesting of these early days, and also had the pleasure of seeing several articles which once stood in the first house in Prince Edward County and were brought from Scotland by the Colonel. Among other things an old mahogany Grandfather's Clock, table, chairs, corner cupboard, which would make a famous china closet of the present day, the Colonel's own writing desk, his despatch box, inside of which were some valuable old documents, such as deeds of land given by the government with a huge seal of wax attached, and at the very bottom of the box his old razor strop. It is needless to say these articles are now very much prized by the family.

Not far from this old house was a block house, which was used as an arsenal during the war of 1812-13, and prisoners have been kept here until they could be taken across the bay and driven in wagons to the Fort at Kingston.

During the war of 1812 a gig containing several American soldiers landed on the point not far from McDonald's Cove. Their object was likely to secure the Colonel and carry him off captive, a colonel being considered "big game." He, guessing their intention, and having

three or four men at hand, placed them in the woods, with the instructions to whoop and yell like Indians. His nephew was sent to interview the soldiers, telling them that he had a band of Indians near at hand, which would likely be upon them, and soon have their scalps dangling from their belts. The soldiers thinking they were lost, surrendered their arms, they, themselves were taken prisoners and kept for some time in the arsenal spoken of above. Imagine their feelings when they found out the true state of affairs. Sergeant or "Squire" Daniel Wright, another well known early settler, was the Magistrate of the Township.

The section of the country known as Sophiasburg Township was surveyed in 1785 and about 1788 the first settlers came in. Some of these had lived over in Adolphustown, others in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and then there were continually coming in those who were not at home under the new government across the line, there were called the "Late Loyalists." Among the early settlers are the Cronks and Ways, William Demerest, John Parcels, Roblin and Solness. Although the land was not actually given to these "Late Loyalists" it was purchased at a very low price,—one of the best farms in this township, valued now at seven or eight thousand dollars, was sold for an old horse.

Large numbers of Quakers are to be found in this district, showing that a goodly number of the Society of Friends were among the early settlers, principally from Pennsylvania.

No early record of the township of Ameliasburg has been found, consequently very little is known of the early settlement of this part of the country. According to information furnished the first family to settle here was that of George Angel Neese, with three sons, in 1787, and the second settler was Thomas Dempsey, who came in 1789.

At the head of a bay of the same name, an arm of the Bay of Quinte, lies Picton the county town, which was only a dense forest at the beginning of the century. Col. Henry Young was the first white man to set foot on the land, which afterwards became the town of Picton. He landed with his two sons in 1784,—and other early settlers are Eleazar Washburn, Abraham Barker, Richard Hare, Johnson, Captain Richardson.

Some time after the war of 1812, the Rev'd Mr. McAuley gave the name Picton to the small settlement, this name being given in memory of a celebrated British General who had recently fallen on the field of

Waterloo. The village on the South side of the Bay was called Hallowell.

Mr. McAuley desired that the two villages should form one and be known as Picton. There was opposition to this for some time, but finally by an act of Parliament, the name was secured for the whole.

The growth of Picton at first was slow, but the years 1830-31 seem to have been important onces. Enterprise was the order of the day. The only newspaper between there and York (Toronto) was the "Hallowell Free Press," the first number of which appeared on December 28th, 1830, and the same year a number of capitalists took stock in a steamer to run between Picton and Prescott.

In 1831 Prince Edward was formed into a county and the jail and court house were soon afterward built in Picton. The present English Church was the first church built, being erected in 1825 by Revd. Mr. McAuley, who was its first minister. The Roman Catholic church was built in 1828.

The entrance to the town by water is a picturesque one, the lofty shores on either side of the Bay are impressive, lending beauty to the town which is in full view.

In the Picton of today we find a busy little town of some 4000 inhabitants, a large number of handsome residences, with well kept lawns and gardens all along the streets, which are wide and cleanly kept, beautiful old leafy elms and maples form a fine shade from the summer sun, making Picton as pretty a town of its size as one will find anywhere in the Province.

Ten miles from Picton on the lake side of the county are the "far-famed Sandbanks." Extending along the shore for about four miles and a half, well inland, you will see banks of white shifting sand, 100 feet high in some places. Directly opposite, across a narrow stretch of water, is the little village of Wellington, which is visited every summer by hundreds of tourists.

We must mention particularly one of the most remarkable objects in Prince Edward County, that natural curiosity "the Lake on the Mountain." About five miles east of Picton, along the shore of the Quinte, huddling at the foot of a hill, lies the little village of Glenora, and at the summit of this hill, which is about 200 feet above the level of the bay, you will find a pretty blue Lake lying, circular in shape, three miles in circumference, one mile wide and very deep. There is a mystery about this lake. It is said by some to be supplied from Lake

Erie by a subterranean passage, others that its source was to be found in the immediate neighborhood.

The grandeur of the scene that breaks upon the view on reaching the top of this mountain, can hardly be surpassed, and one feels well repaid for the climb.

At our feet lies the bay, stretching far into the land, with promising farms on its shores. Across, a mile distant, the historic land of Adolphustown and Fredericksburg stretches out before us, where landed the refugee Loyalists. In the opposite direction, as far as eye can see, the broad blue waters of Lake Ontario lie.

The water from this lake on the mountain is brought down by means of iron pipes, for the purpose of propelling grist mills at the foot of the hill. These mills were once rented by Mr. McDonald, father of Sir John, and here part of Sir John McDonald's boyhood was spent. The house in which the family lived for some time is still standing there. We can almost imagine we see the lad (one who was in later years to become the foremost man in Canada) playing up and down the hills, fishing, rowing on the lake and bay, and enjoying himself generally in this beautiful spot.

One can hardly realize in this age of luxury and comfort, the hardships the early settlers must have endured landing in this country, then an unbroken forest. How with indomitable will and perseverance they toiled early and late to make a home for their families in the new land!

With very few implements, no beasts of burden, all the work had to be done by the sturdy arm and by the sweat of the brow,—but what a great heritage they have secured from a vast wilderness, what a change in a little more than one hundred years.

Today in Prince Edward as you drive along its roads (more like city than country roads) you see on every side good, comfortable rural homes, with splendid orchards, acres and acres of rich farm land in the rear, immense barns, well stocked, everything indicating that here at least is a land of plenty.

AMEY HORSEY.

# Historical Sketch of 100th Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment.

It was at the time of the Indian mutiny, when the whole country was thrilled with horror by the accounts of the hideous atrocities perpetrated by the Sepoy fanatics, and the overthrow of British dominion in the Indian provinces seemed imminent, that the 100th Canadian Regiment sprang into existence.

In Canada, popular feeling was strongly aroused by the news from India, and enkindled with patriotic devotion, and military ardor, her sons, French and English alike, pressed forward, eager to serve their country as "Soldiers of the Queen." And, as has been the case with the successive contingents of Canadian volunteers, so lately despatched to South Africa, Canada loyally gave of her best for the defence of the Empire.

During the Crimean war, a few years prior to this, Canada had offered to send colonial troops to England's assistance; but the Imperial government had not consented. The country was still suffering from the effects of the Russian war when the Sepoy mutiny broke out. The army had hardly filled its depleted ranks, and the militia battalions of Britain were being called into service, when Canada voiced her loyal devotion to the Queen and Empire, by the offer of volunteers, for service in India, and the home authorities gracefully responded to the popular feeling, and permission was given for the formation of a colonial regiment to be enrolled in the regular army for service abroad as "The Prince of Wales 100th Royal Canadian Regiment."

No less than five British regiments had previously borne this regimental number. The first was the 100th Regiment which was raised in 1760, served in the West Indies, and was disbanded at the peace of 1763. Another 100th was raised in England in 1780, for service in India, was associated with the Seaforth Highlanders, in a naval engagement with the French squadron at Porto Prayo Bay, Cape Verde Islands, and disbanded on the declaration of peace 1785.

It was raised again, in 1794, as the 100th Gordon Highlanders, by the celebrated beauty, the Duchess of Gordon, who enlisted eight hundred men in four weeks, and is said to have offered to each recruit the privilege of a kiss from her lips, in lieu of the usual shilling. The number of this famous regiment was subsequently changed to 92nd. Formed again in 1805, the 100th (Prince Regent's County of Dublin) was ordered to Canada, and rendered gallant service at Niagara in the war of 1812-14. This regiment was disbanded in 1818, and some of the descendants of its men took service in the new 100th of 1858.

The sixth to bear this number was the subject of this sketch—our own Canadian corps, the 100th Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment—and was the first regiment raised by the colonies for general service abroad. True, there had been notable colonial regiments in existence before this—the Glengarry Fencibles of Canada, who had borne a distinguished part in the war of 1812-14, the Ceylon Rifles, the Newfoundland Regiment of Veterans, the Royal Canadian Rifles, in existence for thirty years, the Cape Mounted Rifles, and others; but all these organizations were enrolled merely to serve and defend the colonies in which they were raised. This Canadian corps was to be incorporated in the British Army as one of Her Majesty's regiments of foot, for general service in any part of the Queen's possessions to which it should be ordered.

The proclamation for the raising of the regiment was issued at Toronto, March 3rd, 1858, by Sir Edmund Walker Head the Governor-General, who was empowered to grant commissions to one major, on condition that he would raise two hundred men; to six captains, who would be responsible for eighty; to eight lieutenants, who must bring forty men each; and to four ensigns, who were required to be college graduates, of good standing, and to pass a qualifying examination. These were to be Canadians from the active militia, with the exception of the four ensigns, who were to be young men educated in Canada. The rest of the officers were to be appointed from English regiments and the strength of the regiment to be 1200 men. Later, when the formation of the corps was completed two alterations were made: five, instead of six, Canadian captains and five ensigns instead of four. The complete list of these Canadian officers, commissioned at the formation of the regiment, is as follows:

Lieut.-Colonel—Col. George, Baron de Rottenburg, C.B., Adjutant-General, Upper Canada, Toronto.

Major—Alex. Robt. Dunn, V.C., 11th Hussars.

Captains—John Clarke, 20th Regiment, Montreal, T. W. W. Smythe, Rifle Corps, Brockville. Geo. Macartney, Rifle Corps, Paris. Chas. John Clark, Yorkville Cavalry, Toronto. Richard C. Price, Rifles, Quebec.

Lieutenants—John Fletcher, Volunteer Rifles, Montreal. Louis Adolphe Casault, Rifles, Quebec; L. C. A. de Bellefeuille, Vaudreuil Rifles; Philip Derbishire, York Militia; Alfred E. Rykart, St. Catharines Rifles; Chas. H. Carriere, Ottawa Rifles; Henry Theodore Duchesnay, Militia, Beauce; Brown Wallis, Durham Light Cavalry, Port Hope.

Ensigns—John Gibbs Ridout, Toronto; Henry Edward Davidson, Hamilton; Charles A. Boulton, Cobourg; Thos. Henry Baldwin, Malden; Wm. Palmer Clarke, Montreal.

These fourteen officers brought with them 920 men, and also raised the remaining 280, who were, however, paid for by the Imperial government.

Col. Baron de Rottenburg, C.B., who was a retired army officer, and held the office of Adjutant-General of Militia in Upper Canada, was appointed Lieut.-Colonel, and was the first Canadian to command an Imperial regiment. He sold out in 1862, to Major Dunn, V.C., and was one of the Knights of Windsor when he died several years ago. Before leaving Toronto to take command of his regiment, Colonel de Rottenberg was banquetted at the Rossin House and presented with a magnificent sword.

Major Alexander Robert Dunn, also a retired officer, had won the Victoria Cross for his bravery in saving three lives in the famous charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava. Born in Toronto he was the son of the Receiver-General, Hon. J. H. Dunn (Dunn avenue in Parkdale owes its name to this officer). His death was a sad one. While in command of the 33rd, into which he had exchanged, he was accidentally shot in Abyssinia on the march to Magdala, and was buried under a great rock at Senfa. In the military museum at Ottawa may be seen the camp stool used by Lieut. Dunn throughout the Crimean campaign.

It is related of Mr. Henry Hogan, of Montreal, that being promised a commission as captain, and having raised the requisite number of men, a lieutenancy instead was tendered to him which he indignantly refused, and turned over his enlisted men to Major Dunn.

Chas. A. Boulton, who had just left Upper Canada College, applied for a commission as lieutenant in the new corps. But all the

places were filled, and the boy could only get a promise of the first vacancy. Hopeful still, he borrowed a wagon and a pair of horses from his father, donned an old uniform, and with a friend who could play the bagpipes, set out through the country to get his forty recruits. He re-appeared with the required men, and failing a lieutenancy, got his commission as ensign. As Captain Boulton, he sold out and settled in the Northwest, and took a prominent part in the two Riel rebellions. Called to the Senate in 1889, he was also one of the officials chosen to accompany Sir Wilfrid Laurier to London on the occasion of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. His death, which occurred May 15, 1899, called forth this eulogy from the Ottawa Citizen:

> "Loyal to his Queen and country, a staunch friend, courageous in the advocacy of his political principles, honorable, straightforward and of unimpeachable integrity, he enjoyed the respect of all with whom he was brought in contact."

### THE SURVIVING CANADIAN OFFICERS.

Of the original officers who raised the recruits to form the regiment, only five are living now, and two of these Lieut. C. H. Carriere and Capt. Brown Wallis, of the civil service and reserve militia, reside in Ottawa. To the latter, who is engaged on a history of his beloved regiment, the writer of this sketch is indebted for much valuable and authentic information.

Col. T. W. W. Smythe is on the retired list and is living in Dover, England. Lt.-Col. Duchesnay lives in Quebec, and Lieut.-Col. John Fletcher, C.M.G., in Montreal. Both of these officers have since filled the position of Deputy Adjutant-General of the Canadian militia. The Lieut.-Colonel commanding the regiment and the ensigns were not required to raise any men for their commissions. Of the latter there still survive, Capt. J. G. Ridout, Toronto; Col. Henry Davidson, England; and Capt. W. P. Clarke, Winnipeg. Shortly after the arrival of the regiment in England the rest of the officers were appointed as follows:

To be Colonel—Major General Viscount Melville, K.C.B.

To be Senior Major—Jas. H. Craig Robertson, of Gen. Sir W. Eyre's staff.

To be Captains—T. M. L. Weguelin of the 56th Foot; A. B. Ingram, 97th Foot; Percy E. B. Lake, 2nd W. L. regiment; Henry Cook, 32nd Foot; James Clery, 32nd Foot; H. G. Browne, 32nd Foot.

To be Lieutenants—George B. Coulson, 49th Foot; John Lee, 17th Foot; James Lamb, 50th Foot; F. W. Benwell, 33rd Foot; H. L. Nichols, 30th Foot; Joseph Dooley, 17th Foot; B. L. Baylie, 33rd Foot.

For Ensigns—C. M. B. Moorson of the 2nd Dragoon Guards; Frederick Morris, School of Musketry, Hythe; Horatio W. Lawrell, of Jersey.

Pay Master, Joseph Hutchinson; Adjutant, Lieut. John Lee; Instructor of Musketry, Ensign Frank Morris; Quarter-Master George Grant; Surgeon, Wm. Barrett; Assistant Surgeons, Thomas Liddard, Daniel Murray.

Great military excitement prevailed in the recruiting centres. Martial music of fife and drum accompanied the recruiting sergeants in their smart uniforms and gay ribbons, and crowds thronged about the departing soldiers, who were sent on to Quebec as soon as they were enrolled. Recruiting began in March, 1858, and by the end of May the regiment, 1200 strong, was within the historic walls of Quebec Citadel, awaiting transportation to England.

Early in the month of June, 1858, the first detachment sailed from Quebec with Colonel de Rottenberg in command. A few weeks later, a second detachment followed, under Colonel Gordon, of the 17th regiment, and the remainder of the corps embarked on the Allan liner "Anglo-Saxon" July 17th, in charge of Major Dunn and Acting-Adjutant Lieut Brown Wallis.

When the stalwart Canadians landed in England, costumed in the antiquated uniforms of Waterloo date, which had been furnished from the old army stores of the Citadel, they were an amazing sight to those who saw their arrival. But very soon after, H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, at an inspection of the new regiment, frankly expressed his admiration of the splendid physique, and military proficiency, of these same strangers.

The regiment was quartered at Shornecliffe, where regulation uniforms were supplied, with the Prince of Wales plume and the maple leaf, as badges. All ranks were drilled and trained, by non-commissioned officers of the Guards, until at the end of six months, this fine body of men, uniformed in scarlet, with facings of blue, dispensed with their instructors, and graduated, as it were, into the full glory of the British army, able to compare favorably with any of its infantry regiments.

### THE COLORS OF THE 100TH.

On January 10th, 1859, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, who had just been gazetted a colonel in the army, and whose name and crest the Royal Canadians proudly bore, visited Shornecliffe for the express

purpose of inspecting the new Canadian regiment, and presenting it with its colors. A most interesting account of this splendid function is to be found in the "Illustrated London News" of January 22nd, 1859, and tells of the reception of the Prince and his suite by the assembled troops:

"The infantry were formed in line, and the cavalry and artillery at right angles to them upon either flank, the 100th Regiment being the centre of the line.

"The Prince passed down the front of the line, the Duke of Cambridge making remarks upon each corps, evidently denoting satisfaction, and particularly struck with the fine body of men composing the the 100th regiment.

The Royal Canadians were then advanced, forming three sides of a square, the drums were piled in the centre, directly before the Prince, with the new colors laid upon them. After being solemnly blessed by the chaplain of the regiment, Rev. E. G. Parker, the two majors, Dunn and Robertson, handed the colors to H.R.H., upon which the two senior ensigns of the corps (Moorson and Ridout) advanced, and kneeling, received the colors from the Prince's hands, then rising, stood while the Prince addressed the troops. It is rather strange to read of this part of the ceremony, that

"The Prince's address, although delivered in a tolerably loud tone of voice, was spoken with quiet emphasis, and without the least appearance of hesitation or timidity."

Strange, until we remember, that H.R.H. was then only a boy of seventeen, and this was his "first public act." The honor of this selection was keenly appreciated by the officers and men of the 100th.

After Colonel the Baron de Rottenberg had replied the article goes on to say:

"The youthful Prince performed his part of the ceremony in a most able manner—the whole tenor of his bearing being cool, manly and dignified, such as would have done credit to one over whose head forty summers had passed. It made a great impression upon every officer and man in the regiment."

The new colors were then carried through the ranks, saluted and placed in proper position, in the centre of the regiment, which with the rest of the troops, were marched past the Prince in quick time, dismissed to their quarters and the ceremony was over.

And we in Canada who have lately seen flags presented to other young soldiers can attest how nobly redeemed has been the proud

pledge of Baron de Rottenberg who, in his reply to His Royal Highness, on the above occasion, used the words:

"The great colony in which this regiment was raised, among whose ranks hundreds of its sons are serving, and all who belong to it, more or less connected with Canada, will also feel most grateful for the honor which the first regiment raised in a colony for general service, has received from your Royal Highness, and I can assure you, that at the call of our Sovereign, Canada would send ten such regiments as this one in defence of the Empire, should an emergency ever arise requiring their services."

These colors, which were the gift of the Canadian government to the regiment, were the first set made and issued in accordance with the revised regulations for colors, as prescribed in "the Queen's Regulations and Orders to the Army," dated Horse Guards, December 1st, 1859. They comprise the usual two flags, the Queen's color which is the Union Jack, with the regimental titles in letters of gold on a crimson centre and a crown above, and the regimental color of blue with the battalion number in the first corner, and in each of the others a maple leaf. The Prince of Wales' plume is on a crimson centre surmounted by a crown, the titles and battle honors, according to regulation. In 1875 a letter from the Horse Guards, London, informed the regiment that Her Majesty, the Queen, had been graciously pleased to approve of the word "Niagara" being inscribed on the regimental colors, as formerly granted to the old 100th (Prince Regent County of Dublin Regiment) in commemoration of its gallant service at the capture of Fort Niagara by assault, on December 19th, 1813.

On the 27th of February, 1873, these colors were carried at the imposing ceremonies in London, on the occasion of the National Thanksgiving service at St. Paul's Cathedral, for the recovery of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, the 100th regiment being brought from Aldershot, by special train, for that day.

In July, of the next year, a guard of honor, with the band and Queen's color, was chosen from the regiment, on the departure of his majesty, the Shah of Persia, from the dock yards of Portsmouth, on the occasion of his memorable visit to the Queen.

After the colors had seen service for twenty-nine years, having been carried by the regiment in England, Ireland, Scotland, Gibraltar, Malta, Canada and India, they were replaced by new ones, designed to suit the new territorial title of the corps which was united with the

109th, and old Bombay regiment, to form the Prince of Wales' Leinster regiment (Royal Canadians)—the 100th as the first battalion and the 109th as the second battalion. The facings of blue were changed for white, the new colors now bearing an added inscription of "Central India," an honor won by the 109th Foot for distinguished gallantry in many important engagements during the Indian Mutiny, including the capture of Gwalior, the Gibraltar of India.

At Fort William, Calcutta, February 21st, 1887, before a distinguished assemblage, including the Earl of Dufferin, then Viceroy of India, Lady Dufferin, the commander-in-chief of India, General Sir Frederick S. Roberts and staff, (the same general, now Lord Roberts of Kandahar, under whom our Canadian soldiers are now fighting in South Africa), the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and many distinguished officials, the old Royal Canadians, now the first battalion Leinster Regiment received the new colors with the same impressive ceremonies as at the bestowal of the old colors, twenty-nine years before, in England, with some notable exceptions. It was the Lord Bishop of Calcutta who consecrated the colors on this occasion, and they were received at the hands of her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin.

In the reply of Col. McKinnon, the commander of the regiment, he refers to Lady Dufferin's connection with Canada, as follows:

"In that His Excellency was almost recently the Governor-General of Canada, the colony which raised the corps, then known as the 100th, therefore in receiving our colors at your Excellency's hands, we feel as if we were again in touch with the country of our origin."

But an impressive part of the ceremony was that, when the old faded and ragged silken colors were trooped down the front of the lines, halted in the centre, while the band played "God Save the Queen," then marched to the rear of the ranks, the regiment presenting arms and the band playing "For Auld Lang Syne." And the strong attachment of the regiment for the land of its origin was fully asserted in the final destination of these old flags; for they journeyed, in careful custody, from India to Canada, because of the "unanimous desire of all ranks of the battalion to offer these colors to the Dominion of Canada with a hope that they find a resting place in some suitable place such as the House of Parliament or Cathedral." And the old colors rest now in the library of Parliament, here in Ottawa, where they may be seen today (if you look closely for them) overhanging the busts of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. Here they were deposited with military honors, mere silken shreds,

which still cling to the original staffs, silent but eloquent memorials of Canada's loyal devotion to our Queen and to the defence of the British Empire.

All the official correspondence in connection with the transfer of the colors to Canada, was published, by order of the Canadian authorities, in the Canada Gazette—the order bearing the signature of Colonel Walker Powell, Adjutant General of Militia.

Previous to the despatch of the original colors to Canada, small pieces of both colors were torn off, and handsomely framed, the precious fragments being surmounted by the badges and title of the regiment, and enclosed by scrolls, bearing a complete list of the regiment's officers of 1858-59, as well as those of 1887. In 1892 this very interesting relic was destroyed by fire, which occurred in the officers mess room when the regiment was stationed at Agra, India.

### MOVEMENTS OF THE REGIMENT.

The regiment was moved from Shornecliffe to Aldershot in March, 1859, and the mutiny having been crushed out, the Royal Canadians instead of proceeding to India, as they expected, were ordered to Gibraltar the following May. The Prince of Wales visited Gibraltar and was accorded an enthusiastic reception by the 100th, as he passed through the barracks. One day in full sight of the garrison the warship "Sumter," flying the Confederate flag, attacked and looted two United States merchantmen, then sailed into Gibraltar Bay, and anchored under the guns of the fort. There she remained nearly a year, watched nearly all that time by the United States ship "Kearseage," with steam always up. Eventually, the "Sumter" was dismantled, and sold to an English shipping firm. The officers of these vessels would often meet on shore, but interchanged no courtesies on such occasions.

### THE STATUS OF THE ROYAL CANADIANS.

The Canadian Regiment showed the lowest percentage of illiteracy of all the regiments of the line, had a higher average height than the Grenadier Guards, and were remarkably well conducted. Many of the men were, like some in the Canadian contingents for Africa, young men of the best families in Canada, who failing to get a commission, entered the corps as privates. While stationed at Gibraltar and Malta the regimental boat crew was without an equal. "No corps, regiment or ship carried off as many regatta and match prizes, as did the Canadian oarsmen."

In the years '58-'62 the regiment was at its best. Recruited mainly from agricultural districts, not one in ten had ever handled a military weapon, yet the regiment in its second year had risen from no place at all to the 12th place as marksmen, among 179 battalions of the army, and from 1860-62 held fifth place in order of merit. In 1868 in Canada the regiment ranked 14th, and after various fluctuations, its place in 1881, when the 100th became the first battalion of the Leinsters was 73rd.

In 1863, the regiment was ordered to Malta, where it remained for three years, and experienced with the inhabitants, a terrible visitation of the cholera, brought to the island by pilgrims from Mecca. Hundreds of the soldiers died, and a lofty white marble obelisk, inscribed with the names of the many Canadian victims, was erected in the cemetery of Floriana, by all ranks subscribing one day's pay.

One day, while the regiment was in Malta, a great shark appeared at the swimming place, and Sergt. Chas. Seymour (now a detective on the Police Force at Toronto), accomplished the destruction of the monster by an amazing act of daring. While the shark was basking in the sunshine near some rocks, Seymour, armed with a large carving knife quietly dived under and killed him. The stuffed head was mounted and kept as a trophy.

When Garibaldi visited Malta in 1862, threats of assassination were openly expressed by the Italian refugees of Valetta, and a guard was furnished, for his residence, from the 100th, with whom the Italian patriot became quite friendly.

### HOME AGAIN.

From Malta in 1866, the time of the Fenian raids, at the earnest request of the men and officers, the regiment returned to Canada, and was enthusiastically welcomed by the Canadian people. It was stationed for two years at Montreal and Ottawa, and on the 1st of July, 1867, our Canadian regiment took a prominent part in the celebration of the Confederation of the Provinces. Indeed, Dominion Day is always loyally observed by the regiment, the men and the colors liberally decorated with maple leaves, quantities of which are sent from Canada for the National Day, and the band playing "The Maple Leaf," and all the old Canadian airs.

While in Canada, a great many of the men got their discharge, and it was with greatly thinned ranks that the regiment arrived in Glasgow, in 1868, and the Canadian depot having been abolished, the new men enrolled from this time included no Canadians.

From '69 to '77 the regiment occupied different stations in England and Ireland, until, in 1877, it was ordered to India, where it remained for eighteen years, and the denationalization was complete. for it is on record that the last two men who had joined the 100th from 1858-62, that is, from the Canadian depot, left the regiment while it was in India.

It was during their stay in India that the edict was issued, from the War Office, which abolished the old system of regimental numbers, in favor of the territorial system, and the 100th became "the Prince of Wales Leinster Regiment (Royal Canadians)" with the depot at Birr, Ireland. Despite the contradictory and rather absurd title the regiment still clings to the reminders of its Canadian origin, displays the Maple Leaf on all public occasions, and its band plays "The Maple Leaf" before God Save the Queen.

In 1898, the regiment again returned to the land of its birth and was quartered in Halifax until about two months ago. Some extracts from an account of this arrival of the regiment at Halifax may be interesting.

"The troopship Dilwara arrived yesterday from Southampton via Queenstown, where the 100th Royal Canadians were taken on board, and as usual on such occasions, there was quite a crowd gathered at the dockyard, to have a look at the newcomers. The scene on board the ship was an animated one. While on deck, a reporter who had come on board, was warned by one of the officers that under no conditions must he use the term, First Leinster Regiment. "We are the 100th Canadians, and we are very proud of it," he continued. "The regiment is away below foreign strength, and we are quite sure it will be recruited in Canada. We are hoping it may be. Everything we have has a Canadian appearance. The band of fifty pieces, which during its stay in India was the best there, plays 'The Maple Leaf' before 'God Save the Queen.' On the drums are inscribed the national emblems of Canada, the Beaver and Maple Leaf. All the plate in the officers' mess is Canadian ware and bears the two national marks. As we steamed up the harbor today, the band played 'The Maple Leaf' and other Canadian airs."

In August, '98, on the departure from Halifax of the half battery, Royal Canadian Artillery, for Quebec, the band and drums of the Leinster, Royal Canadians, played their Canadian comrades to the railway depot marching to "The Maple Leaf Forever." It has been thirty years since the band of the 100th had marched at the head of a Canadian local corps.

When the Second Contingent embarked January 20th, 1900, on the steamer Laurentian, from Halifax, it was the band of the Leinster Royal Canadians which played them through the principal streets, to the dockyard, and on March 27th, 1900, about six weeks ago, the old 100th once more took ship for England. A newspaper despatch of that date says:—

"Never in the history of Halifax have regular troops received such an ovation. Their departure has usually been attended by demonstrations by the friends of the men and officers, but today the general public turned out to give Tommy a farewell, which will be long remembered by them. * * * Every military band in Halifax was ordered out, and the line of march was lined with people who fairly howled as the men passed along, singing "Soldiers of the Queen." Every one of the 900 men of the marching regiment helped to swell the volume of song, which could be heard blocks away. * * * As the men boarded the troop ship they were given three rousing cheers and slowly the crowd dispersed."

And with the outbound troopship "Vancouver," exit the Leinster Bombay-Canadian presentment of the historic 100th, for it is not improbable that the next appearance of the corps on Canadian shores, will be as the 100th Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment, officered by Canadians, and recruited from the Dominion of Canada.

### REPATRIATION OF THE REGIMENT.

A strong desire has been manifested by the people of Canada for the repatriation of the old Canadian corps, by the permanent establishment of the regimental depot in the Dominion, filling the ranks once more with Canadian recruits only, and restoring the original title "100th Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment," instead of the present rather complicated designation.

The Dominion Government has taken up the matter, and an immense petition, signed by thousands of loyal and influential Canadians has been forwarded to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales through the hands of the Earl of Aberdeen, late Governor-General of Canada, "earnestly praying for the restoration of the 100th Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment to Canada, the country of its birth."

And there seems reason to believe that this wish is on the eve of fulfilment, for in England and the army a strong interest has been aroused on the subject. It has been brought up in the British Parliament, and it is now asserted that at the close of the war in South

Africa, the old regiment is to be rehabilitated and to regain its identity as a Canadian corps; the present battalion to be drafted into other regiments, and new officers to be chosen from the Canadian Militia and the Royal Military College and there is no doubt that, as in 1858, Canada, today, can raise a splendid body of men, for enrollment in the Imperial army, and thus knit closer, if possible, the tie between the Motherland and this, her greatest colony, and in the noble spirit of true patriotism, hasten on the movement towards the great goal of Imperial Federation.

MARGARET HOWITT AHEARN.

# The Acadians.

The paper which I have the honour to read before you today is upon the Acadians, who were the first settlers in that part of the Dominion of Canada known as the Maritime Provinces, and who still form a not inconsiderable portion of the population of these provinces. I shall dwell more particularly upon the sad episode of their expulsion from their homes, not only because it was the subject assigned to me, but because of the tragic interest of the event itself and of the differences of opinion relating to it; there is in the past nothing quite like it in history unless we go back to the ancient times when the Jewish people were removed from their homes to weep beside the waters of Babylon. Acadia, the pleasant sounding name of these provinces, appears in the earliest times, and will be found in the very first charter granted to De Monts by Henry IV, it is supposed to be derived from the Micmac word Cadie, signifying abundance, a word which will be found frequently in the names of places in Nova Scotia, as for instance, Shubenacadie, and in New Brunswick and Maine it is found in the form of quoddy as Passamaquoddy.

The history of Acadia dates back almost to a period before the Norman conquest, for the bold Norse sailors of Iceland and Greenland found their way to our shores and visited Nova Scotia, which they knew by the name of Markland. Lief Erickson who led an expedition in the year 1000, must have visited the coast of Nova Scotia, and if we are to accept as genuine the engraved stone found near Yarmouth about forty years ago, the Norsemen left traces of their presence in that locality which are visible to the present day.

The sea faring enterprise of the Northmen of those early days was continued in their descendants of Dieppe in Normandy, the Bretons of St. Malo, and by the Basques of France and Spain—the Basques were the whalers of the 15th century, and so it happened that in following the whales they early came upon the banks of Newfoundland, then as now, teeming with fish, and if we are to credit the stories of the earliest mariners, the codfish were so abundant as to check the speed of the vessels, but this story may be put in the same class with

the story about the mermaids in the harbour of St. Johns, N.F., by sailors who saw seals for the first time.

The first expedition for the colonization of Acadia was under De Mont's charter, and Champlain and Poutrincourt went with him. They touched the coast first at La Hêve, a name which still survives. Champlain coasted around the Bay of Fundy and as far down the Atlantic coast as the site of Boston; he visited the localities now known as Annapolis and St. John Harbour; he built a fort at the mouth of the St. Croix river, near St. Andrews, where he spent the first winter in America. Finding the place unsuitable he decided upon removing to the present Annapolis Basin, which he considered to be the finest harbour he had seen. The settlement which he called Port Royal was not, as is often supposed, the site of the present Annapolis, but lower down on the opposite side. There he built a commodious fort and cleared land for cultivation, so it may be said with truth that Samuel de Champlain was not only the hero of Canada—but the first Acadian. Champlain did not stay long however in Acadia, and the development was left to others. The progress was slow, because there was no steady stream of immigration into the country, and the commercial privileges granted by the French kings interfered with the settlement.

The early history of the country is however little more than a detail of the struggles between Charnissy and La Tour, the former of whom had his chief settlements in Nova Scotia, while La Tour made his chief posts at the mouth of the St. John River. Under such disturbed conditions progress could not be rapid; there is during that period of Acadian history abundance of romance, but very little solid advancement. There is not time to dwell upon this period, and it is scarcely necessary, for it has been the theme of many romances.

The lot of the Acadians was rendered all the harder by the incessant raids of the English settlers from the Southern colonies: Massachusetts, Virginia, etc., who repeatedly sacked and burned Port Royal, which during the life of Charnissy had been moved from the site chosen by Champlain to its present position. What with Indian wars and border wars, there was seldom peace in those days. The outcome of this period was that Acadia in the ancient limits was finally ceded to the British Crown by treaty of Utrecht in 1713, with the exception of Cape Breton, which was retained by the French. The French recognized its importance as guarding the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and across to their colony in Canada. Therefore Louisburg was founded upon a magnificent harbor, and a fortress of the first importance was erected there at great expense to the French.

This fortress became the means in after years of keeping the Acadians always restless under British rule by fanning the hope that the whole of Acadia might once more be restored to the French crown. The Acadians of Nova Scotia were of quite a different stock from the French of Canada,—the latter were mostly Normans or Bretons, while the Acadians were from the S.W. of France, Saintonges, Rochelle and adjacent places, in 1713, at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, there were in Nova Scotia about 800 Acadians.

The Acadians were naturally peaceable and industrious, and if left to themselves would have been a contented people. They had no anxiety about the future of their children, as the custom had been early established, that the community provided them with all things necessary for a homestead, and in a short time they were as well off as their parents. Life was easy and the necessities of life were abundant, they were on the best terms with the Indians and therefore were free from those alarms which were so frequent in Canada. In justice to the English Government it must be said that they were not disturbed in any way with regard to their religion or their customs.

The garrison at Port Royal was always weak and the fortifications were allowed to become dilapidated, which is a proof that the relations between the English and French settlers could not have been hostile. In one important circumstance, however, the Acadians were defective. We read nothing of schools amongst them, and very few of the people could read or write, and they were so ignorant that in a document signed by 227 of the heads of families in Annapolis, 160 signed with a cross. All the information received by them concerning the affairs of the outer world of necessity, had to come through the Cure or Notary, and they for the most part attended to the routine of their duties, secluded from the general movement of the world, by the remoteness of their position. It must also be placed to the credit of the English administration, that while under the French Regime, the progress was slow and uncertain, that during the period of the English occupation they prospered and multiplied to a very remarkable degree. They had absolute freedom of religion, they paid no taxes, and were not harrassed by any monopolies. A proof of the great prosperity they enjoyed under British rule, is that at the time of the cession in 1713, the population was 1773, and in 1749, the year Halifax was founded, the population had reached 13,000, which clearly proves that up to that time at any rate, they had no cause of complaint against the English Government. After that period came the trouble about the oath of allegiance, and many emigrated, so that in 1752 there were

only 9,000, and at the time of the expulsion in 1755, there were a few over 8,000. Acadia had been 36 years a possession of the English Crown in every sense of the word, when it was decided to found a colony on Chebucto Harbour, now known as Halifax. I do not think the fact has been appreciated by many that the English Crown had the same right, legally and morally, to found a colony in Acadia as it has now to colonize any outlying possession of Great Britain, the North West Territories for instance, or Hudson's Bay. It is clear that the Acadians did not understand that, and they seem to have had an idea that the English had no right to settle in Acadia, which is manifest by an address presented to Colonel Cornwallis by 1000 Acadians containing these words: "What causes us all very great pain is the fact that the English wish to live amongst us; this is the general sentiment of the undersigned inhabitants." From this we can see plainly that the Acadians never recognized the fact that they were British subjects. Had they been let alone they would gradually have become reconciled to English rule, but all the influences around them led them in a contrary direction, and of these influences the most baneful was that of the Abbe Le Loutre—the evil genius of the Acadian people—to him more than to any other cause can be attributed the tragedy which fell upon that unhappy people. He was sent from Quebec as missionary to the Micmacs, his immediate care, a band of 200 Indians on the Shubenacadie river. Had he confined himself to the work to which he had been sent all would have gone well, but at once he began to incite the Indians against the English settlers, and the arrival of the English at Halifax intensified his mischievous activity.

The position of matters in Acadia on the arrival of the English settlers at Halifax could not help being one of very great strain. The Acadians thought in all sincerity that the English had no right to settle there at all, and their arrival at most seemed like an act of hostility. They could not conceal their natural preference for their fellow countrymen, nor could they conceal their hope that in the impending struggle, Acadia would once more be restored to the French Crown. While the more prudent among them abstained from giving any aid or assistance to the French, the younger ones were ready to join the French troops in Cape Breton or on the isthmus and serve against the King of England. The bitter hatred of the Micmacs against the English was fomented for political ends by the French across the Border and the Abbe Le Loutre, who was their real ruler, never relaxed in his efforts to keep that hatred active. On the other hand the English settlements at Halifax and Dartmouth were much exposed, for the Shubenacadie river was a ready highway for the

Micmacs to cross over and lie in wait for any scattered English they could find. The Micmacs commenced hostilities while the English and French were at peace, and it would have been more in accordance with the sacred character of Le Loutre's profession to have checked these hostilities instead of exciting them. He affected to consider the Micmacs as an independent nation not bound by any treaties between French and English, and he had even the audacity to write to the English Governor at Halifax offering terms of peace from the Micmacs as from an independent nation, if the English would relinquish to the Indians all claims to the eastern part of the Peninsula of Nova Scotia. There was no possibility of peace or good understanding under such circumstances. The former Governors of Nova Scotia, before the arrival of Cornwallis, had been satisfied with a modified form of the oath of allegiance. It read, "I promise and swear sincerely that I will be faithful,—That I will bear perfect loyalty to His Majesty King George 2nd," but Cornwallis, who was a soldier, and the English officers who were with him, could not understand the peculiar circumstances of the Acadian French. All they could see was that they were liable at any time to be taken in the rear by the constant hostility of the Indians, and in the impending struggle with the French, the neutrality of the Acadians would never protect them against either danger, therefore Cornwallis insisted that they should take the usual oath of allegiance to the King. As a great deal has been said about this oath the following extract from the address of the Acadians to Cornwallis will explain the point at issue: "But if your Excellency will give us our old oath *with an exemption for ourselves and our heirs from taking up arms,* we will accept it." It is asserted, and it is probably true, that there was a tacit understanding with Phillips, a former governor, that there was to be such an exemption, and certainly they never were asked to bear arms, but now they wished to have this condition inserted in the oath, and when Cornwallis refused to insert any condition into the oath, they absolutely refused to take it, and large numbers of them left the English territories and many joined the French troops in the Isthmus. This movement to reinforce the French power was the special work of the Abbe Le Loutre, who even went so far as himself to set fire to the houses of some Acadians who were unwilling to leave their homes, and threatened the vengeance of his Indians against any who hesitated. During all this time the English and French were ostensibly at peace. One or two facts will suffice to show the causes of the storm which was so soon to break on the heads of the unfortunate Acadians. In the correspondence of 1753 (two years before the expulsion) between the French authorities of Isle

Royale and the French Court, such entries as these may be found: "Louisburg, Aug. 16th, 1753. Frontier Indians constantly harrassing the English,—they brought to Fort Beausejour 18 English scalps, for which Le Loutre had to pay them 1800 livres." Such circumstances as these in times of peace, could not fail to embitter the inevitable contest that was approaching. Another circumstance that excited much attention was the assassination of Captain Howe,—it has been related in a great many different versions. In the *Memoires sur les affaires du Canada,* the story is told by a French officer then in Canada as follows,—It must be remembered that it was in time of peace that it occurred. It appears from his statement that some transactions concerning supplies were going on between the French authorities at Louisburg and on the St. John river, and that Le Loutre thought that these transactions were detrimental to his interests. He was then at Fort Beausejour, and having been charged to hold a conference with Howe, he gave him a rendezvous at the little river Missiguash, which separated the English and French territory. Howe went without suspicion, but Le Loutre had with him some disguised Indians concealed behind the dyke, who fired at Howe, killing him instantly. In June, 1755, the Seven Years war broke out, and it began with disaster to the British arms. The English had expected great things of the expedition under General Braddock to subjugate the French forts on the Ohio, but it was defeated and almost destroyed by a comparatively small force of French and Indians under De Beaujeu, in the battle known as the battle of Monongahela. This disastrous defeat alarmed all the English Colonies, and brought to a head in Acadia a scheme which had been proposed before by General Shirley of Massachusetts, but had not been entertained, viz, the deportation of the whole Acadian population, and the forcible removal of what seemed to be an element of danger, threatening as they thought to break out at any moment in the rear of their settlements, in fire and massacre. I am not endeavouring to justify so cruel a measure, I am merely endeavouring to show the circumstances which led up to it. At that time the people of New England had great influence in the councils of the British officers, and they were embittered by the border warfare so long carried on between them, and the French and Indians, in which great cruelties had been committed on both sides. Their influence was, therefore, strongly against tolerating the neutrality of the Acadians which they firmly believed to be deceptive.

The resolution to deport the Acadians was evidently suddenly taken, and Lawrence, who had most, or all to do with it, did not even wait for orders from England, or rather no traces of any orders have

been found. The question had come up in correspondence, but the project was discouraged. The resolution was concealed from the Acadians so that they might get in all their crops, and that a sufficient force might be provided to carry out the odious plan.

Before narrating the details of this sad tragedy a few remarks seem necessary to express the universal censure in which this act has been held. It does not seem to have met with approval anywhere, and was considered by all, except perhaps a few people in the New England Colonies, to be a most harsh and excessive measure and beyond the limits of legitimate warfare. The position was indeed embarrassing, but there was surely some way open to wise and generous statesmanship, whereby this cruelty might be avoided. So secret was the measure kept that no provision was made with the Governors of the Colonies for the reception of the refugees, who it must be remembered were sent away in the fall and early winter, when great suffering from cold must be added to their other misfortunes.

It is not pleasant reading for English people, to relate how the Acadians were called together under pretext of hearing some important message from the King when the real object was to secure them, and carry them off. The plan adopted by Governor Lawrence was cruel in the extreme. He sent his officers to the different settlements with orders to issue a proclamation, in the name of the King, calling upon the men, and boys, over ten years, to repair to the church to hear some new regulation. Many of the men were then absent in Halifax, having gone on a deputation to Governor Cornwallis, and were purposely detained there, but the larger number of men in each place repaired to the church and there heard the proclamation telling the fate that was to be theirs. They were then detained in the churches as prisoners, and the buildings were constantly surrounded by a guard of soldiers. Many of these poor men never saw their wives and children again. Some few were allowed to go by turns to visit their families, acquaint them with what had occurred, and try to console them. Moncton, Fry, Murray and Winslow were the officers to whom this dreadful affair was entrusted, and only too well did they carry out the orders of Lawrence. Murray writes thus from Pisiquid (now Windsor ) to Winslow at Grand Pre. "I have succeeded finely, and have 183 men in my possession, I believe there are but few left except the sick. I am hopeful you have had equally good luck. Should be glad if you would send me transports as soon as possible; I should also esteem it a favor if you could send me an officer and 30 more men, as I shall be obliged to send to some distant rivers where they are not all

come yet.'' The heartlessness of this letter must strike everyone. It was several weeks before the actual embarkation took place, but these men were kept prisoners all that time, a very small number of them going under parole to see their families, or different members of their families going to see them. On the 10th of September Winslow sent word to Pere Landry, who acted as interpreter, that, beginning with the young men, 250 would be sent on board ship directly, that they would have only one hour in which to get ready, owing to the tide. The prisoners were brought before the garrison 6 abreast, and 150 of the unmarried men were ordered to step out and take up the line of march, surrounded on all sides by 80 soldiers of the garrison. Up to this time these unfortunate men had submitted without resistance, but when ordered to march they protested and refused to obey, but were forced to do so, when the troops were ordered to fix bayonets and advance on them. Many of these were youths from ten to twelve years old. Another squad of 150 married men were embarked immediately after the first. The heart-rending scenes cannot be described,—wives and mothers followed their husbands and sons down to the vessels, and there begged the officers to let them go together, but were refused. The way in which the Acadians were sent away to unfriendly shores was cruel, but the dismemberment of families is unspeakably dreadful and must ever remain a blot on the English name. Winslow, in writing to a friend at Halifax, thus describes his impressions: ''I know they deserve all and more than they feel, yet it hurts me to hear their weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth.'' The vessels on which these first lots of men were embarked, remained in the harbour for some weeks, waiting for provisions and other vessels, which latter began immediately to be filled indiscriminately, presumably with the wives and families of those men on the other vessels. Women with young children in their arms, and carrying what they could of their household goods, and begging to be put on the same vessels with their husbands and fathers, which was in nearly every instance refused. It is a matter of deep regret that the Governors sent out by England, had not erred on the side of humanity, rather than have driven thousands of men, women and children from their pleasant homes, scattering them far and wide amongst the English colonies, where they received very cruel treatment, even those who reached Quebec were scarcely better treated, in many cases actually suffering for want of food.

The vessels were slow in arriving in the harbour, but were immediately filled, and often overcrowded with these unfortunate people, but it was December before the last ones sailed. It is impossible to

realize the despair that must have possessed them, separated from their dear ones, leaving nearly all their worldly possession behind them, and sometimes watching their homes being burned, going they knew not where—what could be harder? They were scattered as much as possible, comparatively few being sent to any one place. Many spent all the rest of their lives searching for the members of their families. They were sent as far south as Carolina, some went to the West Indies, some to England, and some to France. After a long period some few returned to different parts of Nova Scotia, but perhaps the largest settlement was to be found at St. Gregoire, below Quebec. The feeling that must come to every one on first reading of the deportation of the Acadians is one of intense indignation, and the separating of families is an act of cruelty that can never be forgotten. When we think of the sufferings of these poor, and to a great extent, innocent people, it makes one's blood boil to think Englishmen could be found who would be guilty of such an act. Upon Charles Lawrence, who must have been a hard and relentless man, must the blame principally rest, but it must be remembered that Lawrence was a soldier, trained in the stern and cruel school of war, but what shall we say of a man who like the Abbe Le Loutre, a man trained in a far different school and who should have been actuated by the principles of the religion which he professed, who in spite of the warnings and exhortations of his ecclesiastical superiors urged these poor people to their ruin, and brought upon them a fate so tragic and undeserved.

ANNIE M. DAWSON.

# Early French Colonization.

The reason why the French Government did not give a strong impulse to the colony of Canada lies in the fact that they hardly intended to create here any large agricultural establishment, and that they had no desire to implant any industry in the country. Their main object under the four kings, who succeeded one another from 1600 to 1760, was to draw a profit from the fur trade.

This is clearly visible by the reading of the documents which emanated from that source. It is true that the mention of encouragement to actual settlers is often met with in those papers, but the student of the history of Canada can readily perceive that this was a blind, and that there was no intention to open up the country in that respect. There were numerous expressions indicative of a scheme to facilitate the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, but the religious orders were always left without pecuniary help from the authorities, and as the Jesuits as well as the Recollects were left to depend on their own purse, they were prevented from accomplishing most of their designs.

To put the situation of affairs in the colony under a perfect light it is well to read, first, the arrangements made between the Court and the "Hundred Partners", also with the West India Company; secondly, the instructions issued by these two companies in regard to the administration of Lower Canada and the Territories discovered afterwards, such as Upper Canada, Illinois and Wisconsin. This being done, the reader will ascertain to what extent the schemes and promises embodied in those fundamental documents have been carried into effect.

It will be seen that every point of them was constantly neglected, except those that concerned the discoveries and the extension of the fur trade; therefore we must drop as an actual fact all measures said to have been taken for the conversion of the Indians, the creation of local industries, and even encouragement to agriculture.

The whole period of the French regime is thus analysed after a careful examination of the numerous writings of that time, and I should ask any person doubting the veracity of this statement what they can show to the contrary.

But to make matters plain before all, I will deal now with the four aspects of the question:

1—The religious orders attempted the conversion of the Indians under the patronage of several associations organized in France with a view to procure the necessary means for the maintenance of the Missions; this state of things did not last long, because of the constant wars that the Kingdom had to encounter, both from internal disturbances and the foreign powers.

We may add also that similar organizations were started at the Court and in the large cities in favor of the Asiatic missions which finally drained all the subscriptions to the East, especially when it was understood that the Iroquois were waging war against our people here. At this juncture it was expected that the companies who held the fur trade of Canada would assist the missionaries as in duty bound by the letter of their charters, but these merchants did the least they could in that direction and gradually the missions had to be abandoned everywhere except in Lower Canada.

It is well known that the Iroquois destroyed about twenty nations, "friends of the French," and that some of the fugitives of these people who fled to Lower Canada were well received by us and that they formed the villages of the Lake of Two Mountains, the Mountain of Montreal, Caughnawaga, St. Francois-du-Lac, Becancourt, Sillery and Lorette.

Neither the Kings of France, nor the companies, kept here a sufficient contingent of troops to meet the raids of the Iroquois, and this, coupled with the lack of other resources, always prevented the Missionaries from performing effective work.

2—It was considered in principal that if Canada was made an industrial country it would ruin the commercial cities of France, and this is sufficient to explain the absence of all such enterprise here during the French régime. The fur trade companies always preferred to bring in the goods manufactured in France to barter with Indians, and this accounts for the enormous quantity of that class of merchandise annually sent to the St. Lawrence. The colony proper did not derive much benefit from such operations.

I must say here that during the last twenty years of the French régime quite a change took place in the minds of some individuals such as Beauharnois, Hoequart, and La Gallissonnière, who started some industries in the line of iron ore, planting tobacco, and the lumber business, but those twenty years were during a period of wars with the New England Provinces, and this state of things paralyzed our little colony. The famous expression, "Canada is but a few acres of snow," dates from that very moment when Canada was on the eve of being surrendered to the British.

3—The first men who tilled the soil in the vicinity of Quebec came from Perche, Normandy, and Beauce in 1632 and the following years. They were all country people and were not brought in by any associations but came on their own hook. In 1640 they formed, with their families, a population of 200 souls, in 1650 700, in 1660 over 2,000, from 1662 to 1673 they raised to 6,000, because the king assisted in facilitating immigration, but then he stopped giving any aid and the colony as before had to paddle its own canoe.

In 1675 the West India Company started on large enterprises of discoveries for the purpose of developing the fur trade and instead of hiring men from France for that object, they recruited that class of laborers amongst the sons of our farmers, with the result that in 1680 no less than 800 of these lads were gone to the forest, and this was out of a population less than 10,000 souls.

Now if we consider that the king only helped colonization for a short time after the first settlers had come by themselves and began the true colony, we cannot attribute to the Government an extensive part in those doings.

It is far worse if we take the fur trade company into account, for they never paid any attention to matters concerning colonization, and when they found that they could procure men for their design from the people that were already settled here, they had no scruple in weakening the colony by hiring those who were induced to follow them.

4—It has been shown above that the fur trade companies predominated in New France and that they cared for nothing except their own selfish interest.

This system continued until the conquest and needs no further explanations,—it seems to demonstrate the drawbacks of the colony.

In 1684 the fur traders got into trouble with the Iroquois and war was declared. All the habitants capable of bearing arms, 800 in

number, were organized into militia, besides the 800 already spread in the Western Territories. This war may be said to have lasted 15 years, for we soon got entangled in the hostilities against the British Colonies.

After that we enjoyed forty years of quiet time, during which the fur traders kept on hiring our men for their special business.

The habitants numbered 40,000 souls all told in 1744 when war broke out again, and lasted without cessation till 1760, when the capitulation of Montreal was signed.

Then, went away to France the fur merchants, also most of the so-called Seigneurs, who had been the proprietors of large grants of land in Lower Canada, without enticing colonization, because their sole object had always been to make a living by the fur trade.

This little group left us without depriving the habitants of any of their means, excepting that they did not pay their debts contracted amongst us.

Those who remained here were in the proportion of 97 per cent., and they never calculated that a time would come when the historians would say that "the population of Canada went back to France at the conquest."

We were then 60,000 souls, and if you double up that figure every 27 years you will obtain 2½ million souls, which is the present number of all the French Canadians in Canada and the United States.

AUGUSTINE P. SULTE.

# Customs and Habits of the Earliest Settlers of Canada.

It is intended in this paper to explain the mode of living of the explorers, and afterwards of the first settlers on the shores of the St. Lawrence, as well as the modifications they introduced in their customs, habits, etc., in order to conform themselves to the requirements of the new country. There are two phases to be examined in connection with this: from 1535 to 1631, and from 1632 to 1660 or thereabout.

Let us follow, first, the explorers of Eastern Canada, and see who they were, how they acted in regard to climate, dress, and food. The men of Cartier and Roberval (1535-44) were all Bretons, and unaccustomed to residence elsewhere than at home in Brittany. The result was most of them perished by the effect of cold, bad nourishment, disease, and despair, while the present French Canadian would not experience any hardship were he to find himself in the same situation.

When Champlain (1604-30) describes the miseries of life in Acadia and the lower St. Lawrence, he merely states for our information that his men and himself had acquired very little knowledge in that sense above that of previous explorers. They still persisted in depending upon the provisions brought from France—salt pork, beans, flour, mostly affected by the influence of weather, time, etc., and not always abundant enough to cover the period at the end of which a fresh supply would be sent. It was considered good fortune when one or two of the men would handle a gun and shoot some game. As for the art of fishing, nobody seemed to have known anything of it, and these people starved alongside of a world of plenty, since they had the rivers, and lakes, and the forests lying all around their miserable camps.

The only superiority of the Champlain men over the crew of Cartier consisted in the building of a house or two, but even at this they showed a rather poor conception of comfort. Chauvin, in 1599, went to Tadousac and left there sixteen of his followers to winter,

without the elementary precautions of providing them with eatables and warm quarters. In the spring of 1600 the place was found empty, and none of the men are mentioned afterwards. The Indians had always been friendly to them, but could not take such inexperienced folks to the woods. The same thing happened to De Monts (1604-5) in Acadia, when nearly all his party died of scorbutic disease and want of food during the rough season. Champlain, who knew these facts recorded from the years of Cartier, did not succeed any better in 1608, when he lost twenty men out of twenty-eight. This was repeated yearly afterwards, but in smaller proportions.

Even as late as 1627 the "winter residents" of Quebec were ignorant of the advantage of cutting trees during the summer in order to prepare dry fuel for the October-April season. It was Pontgravé who advised them to do so, and no doubt they recognized it a great forethought. They used to pick up whatever the wind would blow down of branches in the forest, and if that material proved insufficient on extremely cold days, then they tried their hands at felling some trees near by and supplying them in blocks to the steward's room. No wonder that the writings of the period in question so often complained of the evil of smoke and the small quantity of heat produced by the burning of such green wood. Stoves being unknown to the *hivernants* in Canada, a caboose supplied the place of that indispensable adjustment, and the men unoccupied most of the time, slept around it, starved there, got sick and died on the spot, one after another, as a matter of course. Father Biard, evidently ahead of his generation, once made the remark that an iron box (a stove) such as used in Germany, was preferable by far to the poisonous system of caboose. The improvement made by Champlain in his house at Quebec, consisted in substituting an ordinary chimney for the open fireplace above alluded to. It is likely that Louis Hébert in 1617, and Guillaume Couillard about 1620, built similar smoke-escapes in their homes; they also had the good sense to fit door and window sashes as both to close hermetically and open easily when required. These marvels were not to be surpassed for a long while after that.

The equipment provided for the men of Cartier, Roberval, Chauvin, De Monts and Champlain was not generally suitable in Canada. Slouch felt hats are not equal to fur caps in winter; boots and shoes of European fabrics could not compete with the moccasins; and as for overcoats, it may be said they were not fit for the climate. Gloves, trousers and underclothes adapted to the exigencies of 30° below zero constituted a puzzle for these people. Snowshoes and mitts

were doubtless adopted at an early date from the Indians. It was well known throughout France that Canada was a purgatory for civilized people, and would never be settled by Christians.

Building houses was not customary in Quebec until 1632, because the men (all without families) were located for the winter in what was called the fort. As it was not intended to increase the colony, no carpenter was needed for other purposes than to keep the ships in repair.

This awkward situation remained the same during twenty-six years. What was the cause of it? Simply this: the men for Canada were recruited from the working classes (if not of the worst), through the suburbs of large cities and towns, the very individuals who were the least fit for the trials to be met in a wild country. For instance, a shoemaker is not called upon to find his daily bread by sowing wheat, planting vegetables, or hunting and fishing. Those men do not know how to manufacture clothing or to dress themselves appropriately; neither can they prepare beaver or other skins to make a soft and warm garment. Their "coaling" power was also limited, for the wood standing in the forest was to them a foreign product, accustomed as they were to receive their fuel all cut up and dry at the door of their homes.

Necessity, it is said, is the mother of invention; but this only applies to people who already live by inventions, such as poor country folks—not the "citizens" who depend upon the shops in their street. Furthermore, those who came to Canada "took no stock" in the future of the country, and they returned to France (when not buried there) in haste, without having had time to learn much. The fur companies did not ask them to become Canadians. They had no reason to turn a new leaf and devise a means of life so completely different from their habits and aspirations.

Now we will close this unfortunate period by saying that about twelve or fifteen of the youngest men, still employed in the neighborhood of Quebec in 1631, were merged into the subsequent immigration and became equally competent with that new formation, i.e., the actual settlers. This little squad, strange to say, was from Normandy, and every one of them educated far more than ordinary people; this was the only good result of a century of wrong management of the affairs of Canada.

Coming to the second phase, we have to introduce farmers of Perche, Beauce, Normandy, and Picardy, numbering forty-five, from

1632 to 1640, besides twenty-six from Champagne, Lorraine, Brie, Poitou, Maine, during the same nine years. This period gives an average of eight settlers per year only, which may be considered the proportion for twenty years afterwards.

The group of Perche took the lead from 1632 and kept it for ever. They came married, bringing their farm implements, cattle, etc., and in less than two years after their arrival conquered the soil, learned how to face the climate, and make themselves literally at home, where their predecessors had miserably perished by scores during many years.

The typical Percherons knew the way to clear the forest, because their country was covered (especially in those days) with trees. They produced all sorts of grain, poultry, cattle, pigs, etc., and so they did in Canada from the outset. Every woman had a trade of her own—the men also. Take Beauport, near Quebec, as an example: the first ten or twelve agricultural families located there were composed of a stonemason, a carpenter, a tiler, slater or thatcher, a blacksmith (often called armourer), a miller, a shoemaker, a ropemaker, a leather-dresser, and two or three weavers. Before the clothes brought from France were worn out the "Canadian" manufacture supplied the little colony with fresh woollen stuff of various fabrics, from serge and camlet to much thicker cloths, as well as linen made of their culture of flax. It soon became a saying that the "habitant" (so named by contrast with the roving fur-trader) needs no help from France, except in the line of iron and steel tools and fire locks. From head to feet they could provide for themselves; their table was well supplied, their houses comfortable; in fact they lived in luxury. The culinary art had many adepts amongst them, and this has been transmitted through generations.

The hygienic aspect of the situation must have been well understood by those early settlers, because not even the children were affected by the influence of the new climate and habits of life. Scorbutic diseases disappeared from 1632—that is to say, never prevailed amongst actual settlers or habitants, but continued to follow the men sent to the advanced posts for a winter or two, in the pursuit of the fur trade.

Boots and shoes brought from France soon became known as "bottes et souliers francois," to be used indoor on special occasions only. "Bottes et souliers sauvages" served all other purposes at every season. The long overcoat, or "capot" made of coarse woollen cloth with a nap on one side (Frieze) called "bure" in French, is a remark-

able instance of their ingenuity. This coat has a hood attached to the collar and dropping behind; it is buttoned up and down, double-breasted, and made tight around the body by a wide and long woollen sash of bright colours, altogether an immense improvement over the "caban" or dreadnough-coat of the mariners, well known in England and France. Their mode of colonization also differed from that which could have been expected, considering that in France the country people are centralised in villages somewhat away from the fields they cultivate. The first attempt made in Canada to lay out farms (1632) consisted in having them in a row facing the river and distant from one another about four arpents; each lot of land measured forty arpents deep, making one hundred and sixty square arpents for a farm.

This system was adopted by the whole of the colony as it gradually got settled—notwithstanding the authorities who were in favor of the formation of villages in preference to what they styled a "dispersed order." The advantage of such an arrangement is to bring the house a few steps from the river; to permit easy access to the public road situated between the house and the river; to keep social intercourse as closely as possible by the vicinity of neighbours addicted to the same profession. In a case where twenty inhabitants so covered eighty to one hundred arpents on a line following the water's edge, they did nothing else but open a street, and so they could visit each other with facility at all times. Four feet of snow in the winter was beaten down within two hours by the passage of forty or fifty horses and men. This of course was at first done on snowshoes until horses were introduced (1665), and then this arrangement worked to perfection. That was the time that the French carriole—on wheels—was dismounted, put on runners and became the comfortable family vehicle so popular in Canada East during the snowy season .

Anyone who will peruse the numerous works containing letters and documents relative to the years 1632-70 in this colony, may obtain more information on this subject. In conclusion I may mention inventories (existing in original) of household effects, which afford a fair idea of the contents of the early residences, such as furniture and utensils, from 1640 to 1670. The kitchen has a special fireplace where the cooking was done. Two or three chimneys (brick or stone) heated the main part of the house. Wooden floors everywhere, smooth, clean, covered with rug carpets. Sleeping rooms upstairs. Double doors and windows for the winter. A large and well lighted cellar, with a compartment for ice to be used during the summer months. The four walls of the building made of thick lumber placed flat one over the

other in a horizontal position. No chairs, but forms for two, four, or six persons. No wine, but cider and beer sometimes, also guildive, a second-class brandy and rum.

The population came altogether from that part of France where cider and beer were most in use; they immediately started a brewery and a plantation of apples on arriving in Canada. Guildive and rum came from France.

Flannel, serge, heavy cloth, linen of various descriptions, all house-made, and of which the farmer's wife felt proud, were stored in cupboards or closets.

The evident superiority of the men who came immediately after 1631 over those who had previously tried to reside here is the object I wish to impress upon your minds. The manner in which they practiced agriculture, their habits, customs, dress, all things belonging to them, were afterwards adopted by all the new-comers, such is the evidence very clearly shown by our archives.

AUGUSTINE P. SULTE.

# A Page from the Annals of our First Missions.

"It was the purest and the noblest part of France," says the historian Parkman, "that gave life to the missions of Canada.

"That gloomy wilderness, those hordes of savages, had nothing to tempt the ambitious, the proud, the grasping or the indolent. Obscure toil, solitude, privation and death were to be the missionary's portion."

Into the boundless wilderness of an unknown continent, came men steeped in antique learning.

Here among savage hordes they spent the noon and evenings of their lives, and stood serene before the direst shapes of death.

Women of noble birth and gentle nurture, gathered around them under the spreading trees, the children of the forest, and its echoes that ever before had resounded with cries of barbarism, now gave back in wonder, hymns of old France, and the prayer of the divine Teacher of Christianity.

The 1st of August, 1639, was a day of public rejoicing in Quebec. The cannon boomed from the fort; the church-bells rang; store-houses were closed. The whole colony, headed by the governor, Mr. de Montmagny, flocked to the wharf to welcome the arriving ship, in which were three Hospital and three Ursuline nuns.

The former were to take care of the sick; the latter to open a school for the daughters of the French settlers, who were, as yet, without any form of education. They hoped, also, to bring the children of the Indians to a knowledge of the Christian faith.

A solemn Te Deum was chanted in the church; then the nuns still pale from the fatigues of a three month's sea-voyage, were escorted to the scene of their future labors.

We find, in the numerous letters written by Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, the superioress of the Ursulines, ample and interesting details of their life and work. Thus she tells us that the building that was their abode for three years, was situated at the foot of the rock,

near the river (the Hotel Blanchard stands there now). That it was made of wood, and 16 by 16 feet in size, with a smaller addition for an oratory, and another, still very small, that served as class-room. The snow sifted in through the crevices in the walls, and the stars looked in upon them through the roof.

Here they were beset by such a host of children, that the floor of their wretched abode was covered with beds, and their toil knew no respite.

Then came the small-pox, carrying death and terror among the neighboring Indians. They thronged to Quebec in misery and desperation, begging help from the French.

The labors of the Ursuline and the Hospital nuns were prodigious.

In the infected air of their miserable hovels, where sick and dying savages covered the floor and were packed one above the other in berths, amid all that is most distressing and most revolting; with little food, and less sleep, those women passed the rough beginning of their new life.

And how did they bear themselves amid such toils?

A pleasant record has come down to us of one of them, that fair and delicate girl of twenty-two, called in the convent "Sister St. Joseph."

Another Ursuline, writing at a period when the severity of their labors was somewhat relaxed, says: "Her disposition is charming. In our times of recreation she often makes us cry with laughter; it would be hard to be melancholy when she is near."

It was three years later, 1642, that the Ursulines and their pupils took possession of a convent of stone, built for them on the site which they still occupy.

Money had failed before the work was done, and the interior was as unfinished as a barn. Stoves were unknown. Four chimneys heated the whole building. They suffered severely from the cold. The smoke from their ill-constructed fireplaces seems to have given them great annoyance. The uncleanly habits of the Indian children must have been trying also, to those women of refined tastes, who write: that an old shoe in the soup-pot was not an extraordinary occurrence.

Beside the cloister stood a large ash tree. It was there still twenty years ago. Beneath its shade, Marie de l'Incarnation and her nuns

instructed the Indian children, in their own dialects, in the truths of Christianity. There, also, they laboured at the study of the Huron, Algonquin and Montagnais languages, which must have been a difficult task indeed. Yet Mother Mary mastered the two first in a remarkably short time, and left, for the help of those who followed in her footsteps, a dictionary and vocabulary, that are now continuing her pious work, with the missionaries of the Northwest. This figure of Marie de l'Incarnation or Mother Mary, as she is sometimes called, stands nobly conspicuous in this devoted sisterhood. Engaged in the duties of Christian charity, and the responsibilities of an arduous post, she displays an ability, a fortitude, self-devotion and earnestness that command respect and admiration.

The provisions of salt pork, Indian meal and smoked eels, on which the community subsisted, were not always as abundant as might have been desired. In winter, Indians with their wives and families, would have perished, but for the help they received from the French. At the Convent, the pot of "Sagamité" was always on the fire. The nuns would go hungry, rather than deprive these wanderers of food, "for," their annals say, "it is so much easier to reach their understanding when they have been fed. Then they willingly listen to our instructions and learn their prayers." An example of the welcome these sons of the forest received at the hands of the nuns, is here illustrated.

In 1818 a party of Indians came to Quebec to settle some business with the government. On arriving they at once repaired to the Ursuline Convent, and after vigorously ringing the bell, announced to the astonished portière that, "They were Indians, and had come to eat." "But you are making a mistake," answered the nun, "This is a place of education, not a restaurant." "Hear me," said the chief, "Our Fathers have told us that your Mothers, the white virgins, always gave them to eat, and we have come to do like them."

The superioress, informed of the strange demand of these visitors, ordered the convent stores ransacked of what they held best; and soon these descendants of the Convent's first neophytes, seated in the parlour, were doing justice to a repast both abundant and luxurious; while the nuns looked on with such thoughts as can be more readily imagined than described.

While the Ursuline nuns labored at the education of the French children, and the instruction of the Indians, the Hospital nuns continued their unceasing toil. Ship-fever, scurvy, small-pox, war, all

contributed their share of suffering to be tended by these patient hands; and their wards were sometimes filled to overflowing.

"If there are no Canadian names on the calendar of saints," says Parkman, "It is not because, in by-ways and obscure places, Canada had not virtues worthy of canonization."

"Not alone her male martyrs and female recluses.

"There are others quite worthy of honour, whose names have faded from memory."

It is difficult to conceive a self-abnegation more complete than that of the Hospital nuns of Quebec and Montreal.

In the almost total absence of trained and skilled physicians, the burden of the sick and wounded fell upon them. Nearly every ship from France brought some form of infection, and all infection found its way to the Hotel Dieu of Quebec. The nuns died but never complained.

Later when Montreal sprang into existence, and with its birth came the Hospital nuns, their lives were never safe from the longing of the Iroquois for the scalps of those strangely attired women.

Indeed, these warriors were known to have crouched all night in a rank growth of wild mustard, in the garden of the convent, vainly hoping that one of them would come out within reach of their tomahawks.

During summer, a month rarely passed without a fight, sometimes within sight of their windows. A burst of yells, followed by a clatter of musketry, would announce the opening of the fray, and promise the nuns an addition to their list of patients. On these occasions they bore themselves according to their different natures. Sister Morin relates that Sister Bresoles and she used to run to the belfry and ring the toscin, to call the inhabitants together. "From our high station," she writes, " would could sometimes see the combat which terrified us extremely, so that we came down again as soon as we could, trembling with fright, and thinking that our last hour had come. When the toscin sounded, my Sister Maillet would become faint with excess of fear, and my Sister Macé, as long as the alarm continued would remain speechless, in a condition pitiable to see. They would both get into a corner of the roof-loft, before the Holy Sacrament, so as to be prepared for death; or else, go into their cells. As soon as I heard that the Iroquois were gone, I went to tell them, which comforted

them, and seemed to restore them to life. My sister Brésoles was stronger and more courageous; her terror, which she could not help, did not prevent her from attending the sick, and receiving the dead and wounded who were brought in."

After the taking of Quebec by the English, September 13th, 1759, part of both convents were converted into temporary barracks. The scantiness of the Highlanders under-garments touched the nun's hearts. The community at once set to knitting long woolen stockings, to protect the young warriors' legs from the cold of our Canadian winter.

In the ship that brought the nuns to Quebec, in 1639, had come Father La Jeune, superior of the Jesuits. These priests, six in number, occupied a structure of planks, built on a bend of the river St. Charles. "The roof of this building," their annals say, "was thatched with grass from the meadows, and leaked like a sieve." It covered the heads of men who were almost all destined to perish by the hands of the Iroquois. "They aimed," says Parkman, "at the conversion of a continent. From their hovel on the St. Charles, they surveyed a field of labor, whose vastness might tire the wings of thought itself; a scene darkened with omens of peril and woe. Conspicuous among them was a tall, strong man, with features that seemed carved by nature for a soldier, but which the mental habits of years, had stamped with the visible impress of priesthood. This was Jean de Breboeuf, descendant of a noble race from Normandy; the same, it is said, from which sprang the English Earls of Arundel. He was one of the ablest and most devoted men, whose names stand on the missionary rolls of his order."

The Fathers, when the duties of their ministry were done, devoted themselves to mastering the difficulties of the Huron and Algonquin languages. This they did with the help of an Indian named Pierre, who had been converted by the Recollets and brought to France.

Pierre having quarrelled with the French commandant at the Fort, and unfitted by his French education from supporting himself by hunting, begged food and shelter from the priests. Le Jeune clothed him and installed him as his teacher. Seated side by side at the rough table, Priest and Indian pursued their studies.

"How thankful I am," writes Le Jeune, "to those who gave me tobacco last year! At every new difficulty I give my master a piece of it to make him more attentive." Meanwhile winter set in with a severity rare even in Canada. Father Le Jeune tells us that his ink froze and his fingers were benumbed, as he toiled at his grammar, or

translated the "Pater Noster" into Algonquin. The water in the cask beside the fire froze nightly, and the ice had to be broken with hatchets in the morning. While labouring to perfect their knowledge of the Indian language, the priests spared no pains to turn their present requirements to account. Was man, woman or child sick or suffering, they were always at hand with assistance or relief. And every inducement was used to bring the children around them for instruction.

We have seen how bravely the nuns bore themselves during their first winter in Canada. Let us see what experience the small-pox epidemic, that raged during that season, brought to the mission of the Jesuits. The contagion increased as autumn advanced and when winter came its ravages were oppalling. The season of Huron festivity was changed into one of mourning. "The Jesuits," says Parkman, "journeyed into the depths of winter, ministering to the sick and seeking to commend their religious teachings, by their efforts to relieve bodily distress."

No home was left unvisited. As the missionary, physician at once to body and soul, entered one of these smoky dens, he saw the inmates, their heads muffled in their robes of skin, seated around the fire in silent dejection. The Father approached, made inquiries, spoke words of comfort, administered his harmless remedies, or offered a bowl of broth, made of game. The body cared for, he next addressed himself to the soul.

The Indians' method of cure was often dictated by dreams. Thus, two of the priests, entering a hut, once saw a sick man crouched in a corner, while near him sat three friends. Before each of these was placed a huge portion of food, enough, the Father declares, for four; and although all were gorged to suffocation, with starting eye-balls, and distended veins, they still held staunch to their task, resolved, at all costs, to devour the whole, in order to cure the patient, who, meanwhile, in feeble tones, ceased not to praise their exertions, and implore their perseverance.

At the town of Weurio, the people, after trying in vain all the feasts, dances and preposterous ceremonies by which their medicine men sought to stop the pest, resolved to try the medicine of the French, and, to that end, called the Priests to a council.

"What must we do, that your God may take pity on us," asked they. De Breboeuf's answer was uncompromising. "Believe in Him; keep His commandments; abjure your faith in dreams; take but one wife, and be true to her; give up your superstitious feasts, eat no

human flesh; never give feasts to demons, and make a vow, that if God will deliver you from this pest, you will build a chapel to offer Him thanksgiving and praise."

The terms were too hard. They would fain bargain with building the chapel alone, but de Breboeuf would abate them nothing, and the council broke up in despair.

We have seen the Indians seeking to cure their sick by the absorption of inordinate quantities of food. This custom was part of a medicine or mystic feast, in which it was essential that the guests should devour everything set before them, however great the quantity, unless absolved from duty by the person in whose behalf the ceremony was ordained; he, on his part, taking no share in the banquet. So grave was the obligation, and so earnestly did the guests fulfil it, that "even their ostrich digestions," says our historian, "were sometimes ruined past redemption by the excess of this benevolent gluttony." These were called, "Festins à tout manger"—"Eat feasts to all." The invitation to them was simple: "Come and eat," said the giver of the banquet. Each guest took his wooden bowl and spoon and went. Even if the host was one doomed to torture and death on the morrow, if he had had a dream in which the spirits commanded such a feast, his invitation was imperative. The feast began with dances and games, singing, shouts and laughter. Then all took their places, squatting on the floor, and the labours of the feast began. The host, calling out the contents of each kettle as it was brought in:—bear-meat, venison, fish, —ladled it out into the wooden bowls. The guests bent to their tasks, and though they might beg to be dispensed from further surfeit, never flinched from their duty until the host himself said:—"That is enough."

It is interesting and curious also, to note how free Canada was from the troubles that belief in witchcraft wrought, at that time, on her neighboring colony of New England. However easily the French might believe in miracles or apparitions, witches never troubled them. They held them to exist, it is true, but they never suffered seriously from their wickedness. Mother Mary tells us of the discovery of a magician in the person of a miller, who disappointed in love, and refused in marriage, by a girl in Quebec, bewitched her, and filled the house where she lived with demons, which the bishop tried in vain to exorcise. The miller was thrown into prison, and the girl sent to the cloister of the Hotel Dieu where not a demon dared enter. The infernal crew took their revenge by creating a severe influenza among the citizens.

But what constituted Quebec at this early period of its existence? What picture can the imagination draw of this city to which came so much religious zeal, on one side, and so much selfish gain on the other?

How many times have we not stood on Dufferin Terrace, and looked with rapture at the grand Canadian world around us, so full of busy life on land and water! Now let us close out all these scenes of modern activity, and look upon this same world with the eyes of the nuns, as they gazed around them on this bright August morning.

The glimmering river knows no traveller but the Indian in his bark canoe. When with summer, the French ships come, they hasten back, like birds before the winter snows. The green meadows of Beauport have but one tenant—Mr. Giffard. Orleans, luxuriant in its growth of wild grape vines, bears yet its pagan name of the "Isle of Bacchus."

We can hear the thunder of Montmorency, but its splendor is hidden by the giant pines of a forest primeval that extends over St. Roch, St. John, and St. Louis suburbs. Below the cliff storehouses contain beaver skins, the only commerce of the colony.

Above the Lower Town, above the river, above the mountains and forest stands the Fort, built of wood and earth. Near by, the little wooden church, where the Basilica now stands, and in the clearing beside the fort, the houses of the colonists. In all we count 250 souls.

Such, in 1639, was the cradle of the race that France sent out to form a colony; that grew, in spite of poverty, and want and war; that prospered and spread, and that now forms that portion of Her Majesty's loyal subjects, known as "The French Canadians."

MME. H. G. LAMOTHE.

# Mlle. Mance and the Early Days of Hotel Dieu of Ville-Marie, 1634-1659.

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The materials for this paper, which gives only the outline of the events which transpired in Old and New France in connection with the subject of it, have been drawn from French sources, and had to be translated. This accounts for its crude form in English. Besides, my tongue and my pen are both French and very stubborn. My only ambition is to make my meaning clear; should I fail in my effort I hope the above extenuating circumstances will be kindly allowed by this fair audience.

We read in Ecclesiastes, chapter 9th, verses 14 and 15: " A little city, and few men in it; there came against it a great King, and invested it and built bulwarks round about it, and the siege was perfect.

Now there was found in it a man poor but wise, and he delivered the city by his wisdom; and no one afterwards remembered the poor man."

These words are eminently applicable to Jerome le Royer de la Dauversiére, one of the founders of Ville Marie, a poor and wise man, indeed, who accomplished great deeds, and who, till recently, was almost entirely forgotten. Mlle. Mance, who so largely contributed to the success of his enterprise, shared the oblivion.

Their names are barely mentioned in the "Histoire de la Nouvelle France;" as for the "Relations des Jesuites," no hint is given in them of the important services they rendered in the New World.

M. de la Dauversiére was the first to form the plan of establishing a colony in the Island of Montreal and of associating a congregation of religious women to provide nurses for the sick in the distant country. Mlle. Mance was the first woman to join in the idea and the pioneer sister of Charity in Montreal.

The two foundations were so closely associated in the mind of the promoter, that they may be said to have been twin works, having a common origin and a common cradle, the town of Laflèche, France.

M. de la Dauversiére belonged to a noble and ancient family of Brittany, but owing to divers circumstances had established himself at Laflèche, in Anjou. He was collector of taxes; his brother, René le Royer de Boistaillé filling Judiciary functions in the same town. Jerome was married to Mlle. Jeanne de Baregé and the father of several children.

He had no influence at court, no worldly means, and could not even express his thoughts readily, having an impediment in his speech; but possessed great piety, a solid faith in God and his Providence, and was disinterested to a fault.

In 1634 the two brothers happened to be joint trustees of the civic hospital of Laflèche, an old, dilapidated building, in which the sick were nursed and cared for by three women servants. These gentlemen asked and received permission from the town council to reconstruct this hospital with the intention of placing its administration in more efficient hands.

While these repairs were being made, two pious unmarried ladies, Mlle. de la Ferre, Mlle. Fourreau, her friend, tendered their services to M. de la Dauversiére, offering to tend the sick so long as it would be required of them.

On Trinity Sunday, 1636, these two ladies, with Mlle. Anne de l'Epicier, lady of honor to the Princess of Condé, joined the three women servants already in charge, and thus became the foundresses of an institute destined to shed the light of Christian virtues in Old and New France, and to be the parent of many other refuges for destitute, suffering and dying humanity.

The sisters of the Hotel Dieu of Dieppe, who previous to this, had been asked to take charge of the internal government of the hospital at Laflèche, and had gladly accepted the call, found themselves unable to fill this engagement, owing to the opening in Quebec of a branch of their house.

This apparent reverse was in reality the fulfilment of M. de la Dauversiére's most cherished desire, leaving no doubt in his mind that he should try and would eventually succeed in forming a new sisterhood, under the patronage of St. Joseph, in view of sending later, some of its members to the Island of Montreal, to help care for the welfare of its colony.

At the outset, it was essential that a colony should be established there, and where would the funds and the men come from, that would

enable him to carry to a successful issue such a gigantic scheme? Who would be the Joshua to lead the expedition to this land of promise, and the Martha to take charge of its internal administration and see to the wants and comforts of the pioneers in health or sickness.

He confided his secret hopes and fears to three of his friends, men of good council and ample means; like him, devoted to the service of God and ready to do anything to prove their devotion.

M. Olier, the founder of the Sulpician Order, Messrs. les barons de Fancamp et de Renty, embraced his views readily and set to work immediately to put their now common plan into execution.

They formed a society under the name of "La Société des Messieurs et Dames de Montreal," which was joined later by several other members; among them ladies and gentlemen of high rank; for the purpose of sending such a colony to the island of Montreal, and then building a town which should be at once a home for the missions, a defence against the savages, a centre of commerce for the neighboring country; this town to be called Ville Marie, in honor of the blessed Mother. But before sending colonists to this land, it was deemed prudent for the company to acquire it. After repeated efforts, Mr. Jean de Lauzon, its owner, was persuaded, through the influence of Father Lallemant, to cede this island on the same terms that he had bought it from the Great Company, known as the company of the hundred associates, namely: 150 thousand francs, and the obligation to colonize it.

Previous to this agreement, in the spring of 1640, the society had sent to Quebec, addressed to Father Lejeune, twenty large casks of provisions, tools, implements and other effects, requesting the Revernd Father to keep them till the arrival of the settlers they intended sending to Montreal the following year; so confident were they that through the aid of Providence, their undertaking would have a fortunate issue.

Sister Grosjean, of the house of Laval, France, writing on these matters, observes that it required but few words to announce the invoice of these casks, but a long while and much labour and money to fill them up, and says that even stones were sent from Laflèche to lay in the foundation of its sister city, Ville Marie.

About this time, Paul de Chomeday, Sieur de Maison Neuve and Mlle. Mance appear on the scene. They proved to be the Joshua and the Martha selected and appointed from all eternity to carry to the new world the fruits of such disinterested labour and generous devotion.

The former, a gentleman from the province of Champagne, and in the military service since the age of 13, was very desirous of leading a virtuous life, a rare achievement in camps at that time, without ceasing to serve his country. Being in Paris, one day, he saw in the office of one of his friends, a lawyer, the "Relations des Jesuites sur le Canada," published in France every year. Meeting Father Lallemant, lately from Canada, he made known to him his earnest wish to proceed at once to that country, where he hoped to be free to live according to his religious principles. Knowing that Mr. de la Dauversiére and his company were looking for such a man as he, Father Lallemant placed him in communication with them. They soon came to an agreement and immediately proceeded to the enrollment of the recruits to be sent to the New World.

Mlle. Jeanne Mance, also from Champagne, the worthy daughter of a worthy magistrate, well born, well bred, and well favoured in personal appearance, had every advantage to please the world, but sought rather to please God and to serve him with all her soul. Hearing of the missions of Canada, mentioned in connection with the Jesuits, she determined to seek more information on the subject with the intention of joining some expedition to that far off country. Father Lallemant, whom she met in Paris, approved of her design, and introduced her to several wealthy ladies who were curious to hear what she had to say about her strange vocation. For it was rather unusual at that time in France to see a lady of her condition, wishing to undertake such a long and perilous journey, to a land inhabited by savages, and for no other reason than she felt she was called there, and should obey the calling. One of these ladies, Mme. de Bullion, but recently a widow, wishing to spread part of her large fortune in good works, sought Mlle. Mance's acquaintance through Father Rapin, and after several interviews, entreated her to be her representative in Canada, making known her intention to found an hospital there, and to be as generous towards it as Mme. la Duchesse D'Aiginllon had been toward that of Quebec, insisting as an express condition, that her name as benefactress should never be revealed. Mlle. Mance acquiesced in this, replying that she was going to Canada with the firm resolve of doing there, whatever work would be assigned to her, provided it were conducive to the glory of God, and the good of others.

This preamble is necessary to show the manner and the motives of the formation of the two glorious works, so nobly, so generously considered, so perseveringly carried out under insuperable difficulties, so pregnant with wonderful results to the New World, results very

gratefully acknowledged by us, French Canadians, the proud descendants of these humble heroes and heroines—issue of the purest and bravest blood of Old France, who followed in the wake and at the bidding of these apostles, to the fastnesses of Canada.

The spring of 1641 was the time appointed by Divine Providence for the execution of its manifold designs on Montreal, Mlle. Mance to be one of its chief factors. This lady, taking affectionate leave of Mme. de Bullion, who was loath to part with her, proceeded to Larochelle, being aware that ships were loading from that port, with men and provisions for Canada.

She knew nothing however of the aims of the society of Montreal, but on learning their purpose, and at the solicitation of Messrs. de la Dauversiére and de Fancamp, she joined the company, she was afterwards destined to receive and consolidate, to the great advantage of Ville Marie.

Two ships were leaving Larochelle for Canada, carrying the first settlers, tillers of the soil and soldiers they were to be, with Mr. de Maisonneuve as their chief, on board one of the ships, with twenty-five men, and Mlle. Mance on the other with twelve men and Father Laplace, a Jesuit. Another ship was starting from Dieppe, in Normandy, with the balance of the contingent; the news that two of the soldiers among them refused to embark unless their wives went with them, which was granted, greatly rejoiced Mlle. Mance, as otherwise she would have been the only woman in the expedition.

The ship bearing Mlle. Mance, arrived safely in Quebec, where she found the men from Dieppe already engaged in building a warehouse for their company.

Mr. de Maisonneuve and his party experienced gales and great hardships during their passage over, four or five of the men being lost at sea; they finally reached Quebec, August 20th, to the great relief of their friends and associates, who feared for their safety, and were not getting as much encouragement from the Quebec authorities as they had a right to expect from them. The representatives in that city of the company of the hundred associates, whose motives were gain and speculation, fearing that the Montreal establishment would injure their commerce, endeavored to dissuade the settlers from proceeding further on their journey; picturing in very dark colours the hazards of the enterprise, especially the risks and perils they would encounter in the neighborhood of the Iroquois.

A meeting was called, when all kinds of arguments were used to persuade Mr. de Maisonneuve that it would be greatly to his advantage to permanently locate in Quebec.

"What you propose would be right," answered he, "if I had been sent here to discuss the choice of a post to occupy; but my company determined that I should go to Montreal; it is my intention to go there and start a colony, the leaves of all the trees changing into as many Iroquois, notwithstanding."

The lateness of the season, however, compelled the pilgrims to spend the winter in Quebec, where Providence, in the person of a wealthy citizen, came to their assistance by placing at their disposal the two houses he possessed in the city and everything they contained, besides, joining their company later on and donating to them all his goods and chattels.

On the 8th day of May, 1642, the settlers left Quebec in company with Mme. de la Peltrie and Mr. de Puiseaux, their host during the winter; on the 17th they came in sight of the island of Montreal, where they landed the next day, early in the morning, with unspeakable joy and thankfulness, for they had at last, after many dangers, known and unknown, reached the haven of their desires. In this sweet springtime, on this virgin soil, radiant with verdure and fresh blown flowers, the pilgrims knelt, devoutly thanking God for His protection; mass was said on an improvised altar, the echoes of these dense forests repeating for the first time hymns and Psalms to the glory of their Creator. The workmen lost no time in commencing operations for the erection of dwellings, surrounding them with intrenchments made with logs, as protection against the Indians. The place where they landed, called later the Pointe a Callieres, was the very same spot where 31 years before, Champlain had intended establishing a permanent post.

History has preserved the names of six of the valiant men who embarked on this perilous adventure with Mr. de Maisonneuve; they were Antoine Damines, Jean Gorrey, Jean Caillot, Pierre Emery, François Robelin, and Auguste Hébert.

This first year, 1642, was a fortunate one for the colony. The savages kept away, not knowing of the settlement. There was so little sickness in Ville Marie that Mme. Mance was fain to direct the generous intentions of her benefactress from an hospital to other purposes, such as helping to build up the town, or aiding the Jesuis Missions among the Indians.

On being consulted, Mme. de Bullion absolutely and very wisely refused to entertain this proposal, declaring that her donations should be used for the foundation of an hospital in Ville Marie, her will being further expressed by an act before a notary, on January 12th, 1644, to the effect, that a person who wished to remain unknown, donated to the company of Montreal 42 thousand francs, for the establishment of the said hospital; the sick of the country to be fed, nursed and treated there; 36 thousand francs to be placed for revenue; the balance to be used for the erection of the necessary buildings. It was also stipulated that Mlle. Mance would be the administratrix of the funds till her death, when she would be replaced by the Sisters of St. Joseph, instituted at Laflèche for that purpose, provided the said sisters agreed to come to Montreal, and above all to attend the sick gratuitously, which last clause is rigorously observed to this day by their successors.

This munificent gift came none too soon. As the site occupied by the fort was exposed to inundations the Hotel Dieu, as the hospital was to be called, was placed on higher ground, and it was no sooner built than the Iroquqois provided guests for it. It comprised a kitchen, an apartment for Mlle. Mance, another for the servants, two wards for the patients, the whole forming a building 60 by 24 feet, besides an oratory about ten feet square, built of stone and very modestly furnished.

The incursions of the Iroquois became so frequent and so deadly, that, besides filling the hospital with wounded, they prevented the inhabitants procuring from the neighboring land, the subsistence they would otherwise have found there. Everything had to be imported from France, even hay, writes one of the Sisters. This state of the country restricted the usual bill of fare of the residents to peas, beans, pork, pumpkins and other garden vegetables; the wild fruits and berries of the woods being out of their reach.

False representations had induced several members of the Montreal company to sever their connection with it, reducing its members from thirty-five to nine. So far, all the funds contributed to the establishment and maintenance of Ville Marie had come from the private purses of these members. At this juncture Mlle. Mance asked herself with much concern, where the means would come from, that were still necessary to the preservation and support of the colony in the future. She consulted with Mr. de Maisonneuve, when they both deemed it urgent that Mlle. Mance should return to France, seek the advice, and possible the help, of her benefactress, in order to find a way out of this serious difficulty.

Her voyage resulted fortunately for the welfare of the colony. She succeeded in reorganizing the company on a firm and substantial basis; received fresh gifts from Mme. de Bullion and much encouragement from other sources. On her return to Ville Marie, she found the citizens much alarmed at the repeated visits of the Iroquois, who had killed several of them and threatened the young city with complete destruction.

On May 6th, 1651, Mlle. Mance, being by herself in the house, would have fallen into their hands but for the bravery of Messrs. Lemoine and Archambault, why by timely aid prevented forty Iroquois from taking possession of the Hotel Dieu.

On July 26th of the same year, another and more violent attack was made on the hospital by 200 Iroquois, who laid siege to it from six in the morning to six at night. The heroic defenders, seventeen in number, with Major Closse at their head, succeeded in driving back the barbarians, after inflicting severe punishment on them, the citizens losing but one man, Denis Archambault. Those repeated attacks and the losses sustained by the inhabitants soon reduced their number and compelled them to seek shelter inside the fort.

Ville Marie was again in deadly peril. It was evident new recruits had to be brought over from France, and there was no money for that purpose. Mlle. Mance came to the rescue once more, and assisted the company by remitting to Mr. de Maisonneuve 20,000 francs, the gift of Mme. de Bullion to the hospital. She judged rightly that if Ville Marie perished, no hospital would be needed, and that the good lady would surely approve of her action in the matter, as Mlle. Mance was to receive, in return for this timely loan, and in trust for the Hotel Dieu, the deed for one hundred arpents of land from the Society of Montreal.

Mr. de Maisonneuve immediately started for France in order to bring, as speedily as possible, the help his adopted country so sorely needed.

Sister Bourgeois relates, that in the following year, 1652, the defenders of Ville Marie, were only seventeen in number, besides ten men sent later on from Quebec. This little band of heroes and the courageous women left in their care had no alternative but to hope and pray for the early return of Mr. de Maisonneuve should he succeed in bringing recruits, or to die at their post, should he fail. Their anguish and daily fears were relieved eighteen months afterwards, when Mr. de Maisonneuve landed in Quebec with 108 men, skilled in labour and

warfare, such as were needed in this new country, where settlers in their fields, carried a gun alongside of their plough.

It was considered at the time, and is still conceded, that, through her wisdom and prudence, Mlle. Mance saved, not only the colony of Montreal, but the whole of Canada.

The days were now ripe when the Sisters of St. Joseph, of Laflèche were to come and fill the mission for which they had been instituted. An accident to Mlle. Mance was the immediate cause of the departure of three of them for the new world.

On Sunday, January 28th, 1657, Mlle. Mance fell on the ice, breaking her right forearm in two places, and dislocating her wrist. The surgeon, Etienne Bouchard, reduced the fracture, but overlooked the dislocation, discovering it six months afterwards, when it was too late to remedy the evil. The lady lost the use of her right arm in consequence. suffering most excruciating pains. This state of things put an end to her usefulness as nurse in the hospital. Her friends advised her to go to France and seek relief at the hands of its distinguished surgeons, and while there to persuade the sisters of Laflèche to come and replace her in tending the sick at Ville Marie. She followed this advice and left for France September 8th, 1658. At last, on June 29th, 1659, after many trials and contradictions, and when in ordinary affairs, success would have been despaired of, three of these nuns embarked for Canada, in company with Mlle. Mance and Sister Bourgeois, on board a ship, the St. Andre, which had served as hospital for the troops, and had never been disinfected.

When a few days at sea, an infectious disease broke out among the passengers and crew; ten of them died before the Sisters were allowed to tend the sick, their entreaties to serve as nurses having been of no avail, until the disease spread so alarmingly that the veto was removed.

Judith Moreau de Bresoles, Catherine Macé and Marie Maillet were the names of these humble servants of God and of the poor, who, figuratively putting their hands to the plough, never looked backward, relinquishing their work with their lives. After a most tedious and laborious passage, they landed in Quebec September 8th, of the same year. Being delayed there a month for various reasons, they were finally allowed to proceed on their journey to Montreal, reaching that settlement in October. Mlle. Mance remained in Quebec three weeks longer to recuperate her health, much impaired by her sickness on

board. The Sisters were very cordially received at Ville Marie. The day after their arrival, they were visited by the entire population. They spent a few days returning these friendly calls, before entering their cloister. The building designed for their lodging not being completed, the Sisters occupied the apartment reserved for Mlle. Mance, who, on her return from Quebec, pressed the work so, that by November 20th they took legal possession of the Hotel Dieu, through a written act, signed by Mr. de Maisonneuve as governor of Montreal.

The census of Ville Marie at that early date is soon told—one hundred and sixty men; fifty of these married; besides the recruits landed in Quebec from the St. Andre who had accompanied the nuns to Montreal. It may be interesting to mention incidentally that the first child who survived at Ville Marie was a girl, Jeanne Loysel, born 1650; she was educated by Sister Bourgeois, lived to be a woman, and was married in 1667 to Jean Beauchamp, an inhabitant of the island, and the ancestor in a direct line of the writer of this paper.

The town contained about forty houses built outside the fort and in such a manner as to be a protection to their owners in case of attack, the governor's residence was inside the fort. Ville Marie was also protected towards the Coteau St. Louis by a redoubt and a mill built on a small elevation and in a favorable situation for defence against the Indians. This first winter spent by the Sisters in Canada, in an unfinished house, was a severe ordeal to these delicately nurtured women, used to a mild climate and to the comforts of civilization. Having no cellar, they could not keep their provisions from the cold, they had to toast their bread to thaw it out; their meat and water froze on their table. After severe snow storms, the snow had to be shovelled out of their cells in the morning.

Through the death of Mr. de le Dauversiére, which occurred that same year, November 5th, they lost their friend and counsellor, and also the funds contributed to their support by Mme. de Bullion, which loss brought them to the verge of destitution. In this extremity, the poor nuns were advised by their friends in France to return to that country, as having no resources in Canada they could not continue to tend the sick gratuitously, as they had agreed to do.

To these arguments they would not listen, replying that Providence having brought them so far, through so many serious obstacles, would surely provide means for their subsistence and allow them to serve God in the manner he had so clearly pointed out to them. They were much encouraged and pressed to remain in Canada by Mlle.

Mance, Mr. de Maisonneuve, and in fact by the whole population, who were loath to part with women of such eminent qualities of mind and heart, and offered to share with them the little they had themselves. Sister Morin, the first Canadian girl who joined the sisterhood, says they were so poor their fare was very simple. Coarse home-made bread and pork every second day, a little milk and a few vegetables in summer; never any beef and no fruit, except wild plums twice a year, and such poor ones that no one would pick them up now; no wild berries ever appeared on their table; the Iroquois, by lurking continually about the woods, effectually took away any appetite the Sisters might have had for these simple delicacies. Their clothing had become so patched up that the original material had nearly disappeared; a guess at it was one of their few pastimes.

Mlle. Mance, though herself poor, and some of the Sulpician priests who had incomes of their own, came to their assistance, and together with some friends of the Sisters in France, relieved their most pressing needs, and placed a small annual revenue to their names, so that they were no longer in danger of wanting for their daily food.

The sisters endured for twenty-eight years this life of privation and hardship, never complaining, but devoting their energies and wearing away their lives in the service of the sick and poor for the love of God. Mother de Brésoles, the Superior, was a highly gifted woman, having a remarkable knowledge of medicinal plants, which she cultivated herself, and compounding remedies, which she distributed to French and Indians alike; the latter, in their language, called her "the sun that shines," because like the sun she restored life.

But even she had to be on her guard against their cruelty and craftiness when they happened to be patients in the hospital wards. Sister Morin relates that, one day, passing in a remote part of the house, she saw Mother de Brésoles standing in the doorway of a cupboard, when an Iroquois threw himself on the door and would have smothered her, had not sister Morin called the other patients to her assistance, and rescued Mother de Brésoles from her dangerous position. On being remonstrated with the wily savage vowed he was only jesting, and would not for all the world, have injured the shining sun, who had cured him of his illness.

Mlle. Mance was in active service in the hospital for fifteen years, retaining the administration of its financial affairs till her death, which happened in her 66th year. This lady lived, a model of

Christian virtues and womanly graces, cherished and venerated by all who approached her; an example her sex may justly be proud of.

These were the beginning and the early days of the Hotel Dieu of Ville Marie, a religious institute which, for 255 years, has been dispensing its charities to friend and foe alike; seeking no favors, but receiving them gratefully when offered.

Three times since 1659 have the buildings of the Hotel Dieu been almost entirely destroyed by fire. Three times the dreadful scourge, cholera, has increased tenfold the tedious work by day and night in the wards; besides two epidemics of typhus, and several of small-pox, the former causing sad havoc among the nuns themselves.

Love of poverty and justice, benevolence, meekness and mercy are still the watchwords among the successors of those three pioneer women in this new world, who loved their God above all things and proved it beyond all doubt by their works.

Faithful copies of these illustrious originals have been given to the world from time to time, in the persons and lives of other humble members of this sisterhood, and will continue to be reproduced so long as the Hotel Dieu stands a monument of Faith, Hope and Charity.

MADAME PIGEON.

# The Second Administration of Frontenac.

We must bear in mind, ladies, that I can speak to you only of the second stay of Mr. de Frontenac among us, as his first "sojourn" in Canada did not amount to much, as far as the prosperity of the country was concerned. He seems to have worked rather to further his own interests than those of the colony. Still, his presence in Canada was of some use, for, if he made mistakes, he proved himself to be such a statesman that he was sent back to us, by France, as the only man who could repair the blunders made by his predecessors, and rescue the country from the perilous condition in which it then was.

When Frontenac came back to Canada, after an absence of eight years, he found the country in a state of war with the Indians and the New England Colonies, quite the reverse of what he had experienced during his first administration, but he had followed while in France, every step of the events that had occurred here during the period in question, and had matured a plan of operations which he followed without delay.

Knowing the particular mode of warfare of the Canadian militia, he equipped three parties to make raids on the neighboring colonies. These little troops started from Quebec to fight against the establishments of the English in Maine, from Three Rivers against New Hampshire and Massachusetts, from Montreal against Albany and the Hudson River region. They numbered altogether no more than six hundred men, and were under the command of Mr. de Portneuf, Hertel and d'Aillebrust.

The Americans thought themselves so safe, (being separated from our country by miles and miles of snow), that they ridiculed any warning given them, and slept securely. To show their confidence, they placed, at their doors, huge sentinels of snow which was their only protection. However, the little French troops, nothing daunted, tramped these miles of snow on snowshoes, amidst the greatest hardships, burned and destroyed whole villages "bourgades," towns, and massacred all the inhabitants therein, regardless of age, position or sex. In fact, the most brutal methods were resorted to. By these

means, they succeeded in terrorizing the settlers of these regions, which prevented for the time any attempt of invasion of Canada by the British. Fortunately, civilization grew apace, and we are glad to read that these cruelties diminished, as useless bloodshed is always pain[illegible] record in any history.

[illegible]ne plan of war of these little troops, principally characterized by raids, lasted from 1690 to 1700; but this was not the main object of Mr. de Frontenac, as a military man, for he directed parties to Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Hudson Bay, Lake Superior, Michigan, Illinois and even to the Ohio, operating, therefore, in an immense circle, and keeping himself at the centre of the scene either at Montreal or Quebec.

It is easily understood that all the men of the colony, capable of bearing arms, were engaged in these expeditions. It is true that the wonderful success obtained by the Canadians over their enemies, both European and Indians, raised the spirit of the militia to a high tone; nevertheless it brought the community into debt, and stopped the progress of agriculture throughout that harvest.

No kind of industry seems to have sprung up during that time, and it is a wonder how the colony sustained itself, without apparent means, during so many years. It is well to recall here that in the fall of 1690, a large fleet equipped by the State of Massachusetts, under the command of Admiral Phipps, besieged Quebec, and was repulsed with great loss, but this victory of Frontenac merely saved Canada, without improving its condition.

There is no doubt that Frontenac, finding Canada in a state of warfare on his arrival here, made the best he could of the situation, and it is considered that no one but himself could have maintained his position under similar circumstances. We must add that, instead of keeping on the defensive, he was daring enough to take the offensive, and accomplish his designs successfully, as we have stated above. He knew that the hostilities against the British largely depended upon the settlement of the difficulties between France and England, while another cause of trouble, namely: the Indians of the Great Lakes, solely relied on his ability to deal with those nations. He therefore applied more of his attention to the latter subject than to the former, and in this he showed his marvelous proficiency above all the other men interested in these conflicts.

It may be said that in the year 1697 his attempts to reconcile the Indian tribes were already so successful that they were on the eve of

accepting, on both sides, the conditions of peace offered by the French Government.

Frontenac had gained the friendship of the Indians, and final settlement was near at hand when he died, leaving his successor, Mr. de Callière, to conclude an amicable arrangement, which has lasted until the present day. Frontenac, as governor of a young colony, had to encounter many difficulties, but he succeeded so thoroughly in mastering the situation, that all historians have considered him to be one of the most remarkable characters under the French regime.

He died November 28, 1698, at the age of 78 years. He was still as vigorous and energetic, as in his younger days. His loss caused universal regret, and he has to this day the esteem of the French Canadians whom he governed so well, during one of the most critical periods of their history. Certainly he made some mistakes, but who does not err? Judging him as a statesman, and considering, as a whole, his political life, he ranks with the small number of administrators who have rendered real service to their country.

Louis de Buade, Comte de Pullnan et de Frontenac, was born in Paris, 1620, died in Quebec, 1698, and was buried in the church of the Recollets, which stood on the site now occupied by the English Cathedral of Quebec.

By many Frontenac was called the second founder of Quebec.

At the time of his death, this great man had no idea that, 70 years later, the land of his thoughts and cares would be lost for his mother country, and fall into the hands of English rulers.

He was blessed, indeed, not to have seen the surrender, for his heart would have bled, feeling the indifference of France toward what she considered merely a land of snow and ice. Truly Canada is a great land, for it has known how to bear the sword and cross; France knew not the warmth of a Canadian heart and the love he bears to his country, though she might have acknowledged it in the great doings of patriots, numerous heroes and heroines, with whom we shall join to say: "Vive le Canada!"

LEA LA RUE.

# The French Regime from 1700 to 1760.

On the conclusion of the peace with all the Indian nations around the great lakes in 1700, it was expected that New France might enter a period of prosperity quite superior to all the doings of the closing century, because the field of discovery had extended to the Northwest and South toward unbounded limits, and the trade of the French with so many nations would naturally bring to Quebec large quantities of furs of all kinds from these countries. Unfortunately, the war with Spain which broke out in 1702, and in which England joined against France, paralysed the action of the French in North America, and the separate administration which was given to Louisiana contributed to diminish the influence of Lower Canada in the direction of general affairs.

Immigration from France had completely ceased by that time so far as the actual settlers were concerned. The population was between 1500 and 1600 souls and very little progress was made until the treaty of Utrecht was signed (1713) and the death of Louis XIV (1715), when the whole business of Canada collapsed and the authorities in Paris repudiated the debt they owed to Canada (about 20,000,000 francs).

New arrangements were then entered into concerning the trade of the country, but nothing was done to promote colonization, and, therefore, the habitants were left to themselves to develop the settlements already started.

A new influx of people marked these days. They were men of the fur trade, few in number, not the most respectable, and this accounts for the reputation Canada had afterwards for being settled by broken down merchants and condemned brokers. This new organization played havoc in all the affairs of the Colony, and it is to be remembered also that the same state of things prevailed in Louisiana. High and dashing speculations were popular in Paris with regard to the St. Lawrence and Mississippi, and were carried on in a manner similar to the Panama swindle in our own day.

Louis XV, who was about sixteen years old in 1725, at the time of the death of M. de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, selected M. de Beauharnois to succeed him and appointed Hocquart as Intendant for the Colony. Whether these two men acted by themselves, with a programme of their own, or followed the instructions received from Versailles, they certainly entered into a fresh view of the administration and aimed at the development of the natural resources of these vast possessions.

Their administration for twenty years is the most remarkable of the whole of the French Régime, so far as a correct and profitable policy could be applied to the welfare of the inhabitants. It is true that they did not succeed in obtaining from the government the required aid to bring in settlers and increase the population by that means, but they succeeded in creating industries which rendered the people somewhat independent of the supplies of the old countries.

The iron mines were utilized, planting of tobacco became a general practice, as was also the cultivation of hemp and flax, and even the building of ships was commenced on a tolerably good scale. The staple trade nevertheless remained that of selling the skin of wild animals, and for that purpose the merchants were allowed to form companies and syndicates, providing they contributed a share toward the expenses of the administration, for there was no taxation on the habitant proper and the King refused to foot the bill of expenditure. This would have been satisfactory had not the fur merchants hired nearly all the young men of the colony to do their work in the woods, thus depriving agriculture of its natural supporters. Altogether it was a period of prosperity, although of a very limited advancement. It has been observed that the king spent immense sums of money to build fortifications at that very time, while, if he had applied the same appropriations for the purpose of securing settlers the result would have been ten times greater, but such was the conception of the men of those days that they believed in strongholds and cannon more than in the building of a nation.

It was in 1731 that M. de la Verenderge, seeing the impossibility of pushing any further to the south where he would have encroached on the territory of Louisiana, determined upon taking the direction of the west. From Lake Superior he went straight to Red River, and afterwards reached the Rocky Mountains, throwing open for the fur trade of the French merchants an area as large as the whole of Europe. This discovery was hardly accomplished when the war broke out again

(1744) with the British Colonies, and it must be said that the beavers of the Northwest replenished the treasury of Quebec as fast as the military expenditure drained it, from year to year.

In this manner the King did not sustain any loss consequent upon the hostility between the two powers in America, but Canada was clearly the loser. Besides sending so many men to attend the far away fur trade business, it had to furnish militia to contend with the New England Colonies.

The necessity of a regular troop was soon felt and the companies that were sent from France were maintained by means of paper money which the "habitants" received in exchange for ordinary supplies.

When the peace of 1748 was signed, this paper was not redeemed and it created ill feeling generally.

At this juncture, also, Beauharnois and Hocquart were recalled and their successors, to say the least, were about the worst men that could be selected.

Quebec and Montreal became a copy of the miserable administration of Versailles.

The historians have written so many pages on these events that it is useless to recite them again. Let us conclude by mentioning the well known war of 1754 to 1760, which made matters worse for Canada and brought the cession, together with the bankrupty of the French King, leaving the 'habitants' impoverished in the hands of a foreign power.

It is a well known fact that the class of men the French Government had done the least for, during a century and a half, proved to be the very ones that stood the hardships of time and ultimately remained the masters of the situation. The British administration did not for more than fifty years after the conquest, attempt to bring in settlers from the United Kingdom, and the habitant remained quietly on his domain developing his resources and living contentedly until he filled up the best part of Lower Canada, which he had himself selected for his residence without any help from his former mother country.

Certainly there is always a tender spot in every French Canadian heart for that same mother country, mixed largely with a bitter feeling that, through his indifference, an indolent king could let slip from his grasp such a beautiful possession as Canada. However, we have no right to complain for, under the British flag, we have fared much

better than under our own 'Fleur de Lys,' as we have been so generously and justly treated by the English Government, especially by our present sovereign, who seems always to have considered us as one of the privileged colonies of her vast Empire.

ADRIENNE WALKER.

# Origin of Canadian People.

The work of the true historian or student of history is something more than the mere gathering together of barren facts and dates to chronicle and tabulate. It is to study the influences and passions of the past which have helped to make the present.

The history of Canada is generally regarded as divided into two periods which are:—

1st. That from the earliest discoveries to the British conquest.

2nd. From that period to the present day; while, as a matter of fact, the real history of the country has been affected and its epochs marked by other and quite as important events and conditions, viz: the entrance into its field of those various colonizations and national influences which have gone to make up the true personality of the country.

The object of this paper, which is the first of a proposed series on the subject of Canadian History, shall be, not to call attention to, or to detail in a superficial manner, incidents or events which mark the stages of development of our national history, and which are, or should be familiar to our common school students, but rather to consider the more prominent of those race colonizations which have influenced the development, and are in the future likely to mark the character of our national life, to deal with them in a general way, as bearing upon and influencing the history past, present, and future, of our country.

From the standpoint of the philosophical student of nation building, there is probably no country in the world more peculiarly situated than the Dominion of Canada, with regard to her amalgamation of races, and the peculiar outside influences which have affected her development. The greatest of the British colonies, she is the most beset by certain insiduous foes to the common life of a nation, and it may be safely said that no other young nation has had more to contend with in the development of a pure national personality than she has had in the past, and is likely to have in the future.

First of all we must take into consideration her double origin, having a large portion of her population the descendants of a foreign race, speaking a distinct language, and still drawing, even at this late day, from an ancient stock of national pride and prejudice; and having the other portion of her inhabitants, to a greater extent colonists of, at the very most, a century's experience in the country, who, though speaking the same language, are separated from each other by race, religious and other prejudices, which have not been allowed to die out in which should be the stronger and more practical interests of the newer national life.

In addition to these marked hereditary differences or national influences which prevent amalgamation we have another influence, perhaps not less subtle in its tendencies, than those just mentioned.

Just as Britain herself, though an island, could never wholly escape from the strong civilizing and other influences of Europe, especially of France, in the development of her national life, so we in Canada, have continually to contend with, and need not expect to escape from, whatever impetus of good or evil is working out the fate of the great world-famed Republic to the south of us. While Canadians may be forming their own local prejudices as Canadians, yet they cannot be blind to the fact that there is no difference of language, no barrier of blood, no alien literature, no great world idea but is common to us both as nations.

From this it will easily be seen that the bonds of national union, which we have in common with all other nationalities, are delicately interwoven with other bonds which are drawing us, in different directions of racial, religious and other sympathies. These, as has been pointed out, are serious things to contend with in nation building, especially as while we as a Dominion are little more than a quarter of a century old, the roots of many of these prejudices have been firmly planted, long anterior to our birth as a nation.

Meanwhile it is useless for Canadians to ignore these facts and conditions. If we are to study our history with a high and serious purpose and not as a mere fad, it is along these lines that we should work.

We have much to do as a people, and much to answer for. We can no longer linger under the shadow or imputation of being a mere bush-whacking colony. We have long out-grown the raw camping period of our national existence. If we have to struggle for the necessaries of life, it is not as our forefathers, three-quarters of a century

ago, had to contend, but in that stern necessity common to the older nations of the world. Therefore, we have come to a period in our existence in which we must either strike out for ourselves, or go to the wall with those weaker people who have shown the world by their unfitness for modern civilization, to have lost any excuse for a separate existence.

Now, whatever our differences of opinion as regards national ideal may be it is a universally acknowledged fact that a country must either within a certain period amalgamate into one people or go to pieces.

Of course there is another condition also disastrous, which is exemplified in several of the European, Latin nations, and the Latin Republic of South America, whose continually convulsed and changeable conditions make them scarcely worthy of being considered as national entities at all.

Now if we, as a people, have the natural ambition of Canadians to finally develop into a race homogenous in ideal, ambition and identity, it is our duty to use all means in our power to bring this about. One of the wisest means of attaining this patriotic ideal will be found in a study of our past, not viewing it as a mere storehouse of recorded dates and facts, rule and misrule, or forms of government, but rather as an interesting study from a philosophical standpoint, with the best interests of the future in view, of those classes of our common ancestors who, coming into this country at whatever time, or under whatever circumstances, brought with them those influences for good or evil, national or otherwise, which must have had most to do with the progress or deterioration of our national development.

Speaking roughly in the aggregate, the primitive colonizing points of Canada, were Quebec, Annapolis, Ontario and the far north wilds of Hudson Bay. From these we inherit our principal strains of national individuality, viz: the French, the old pre-revolutionary English, the Scotch settlement of Nova Scotia and Hudson Bay, the English, Irish, and North of Ireland colonists of Ontario, and the U. E. Loyalist invasion of New Brunswick and Ontario.

Now, from these main elements, augmented, of course, by later immigration, among which might be cited the South and West of Ireland influx, and a moderately large German and Dutch immigration, has gradually grown our present nationality.

Of all the national influences that have affected the personality of our country, the most potent and far reaching in its effects is that of the French. It was the first on the soil, and for centuries, while

England was colonizing what is now the United States of America, France, in her way, was spasmodically determining the fortunes of her meagre colonies of Canada and Acadia. Even then the marked characteristics of the two nationalities were determining the fate of their future possession of the North American Colonies.

While the Anglo Saxon was sturdily winning for himself the wilds of the New World under the influence and impetus of love of liberty—civil institutions and practical commerce, France, in the name of colonization was giving place to the fierce ardor of the noble adventurers and the fanatical burning of the religious zealot.

Nothing could be more heroic and splendid than the picture which history gives of Cartier, Champlain, Latour, Dulac, Frontenac and the Jesuit Fathers of New France and Acadia; but, at the same time, underlying all this chivalrous spirit of adventure and religious zeal, there lay a sad lack of those real practical qualities, knowledge of life, and sturdy self-dependency which preserved and built up the New England Colonies through centuries of privation with aboriginal foes on the outskirts of the American wilderness.

It is but fair to add that it was not French character but rather French rule and French institutions which were "found wanting" in the desperate struggles to establish a national policy on the shores of Nouvelle France.

Passing briefly over the struggles and vicissitudes of the early intercolonial life prior to the latter half of the 18th century, and lightly noting in passing, the several premature attempts at colonization by the Scotch and English, and by the American Colonies, in what are now called the Maritime Provinces, we come to a later and more important period, that of the British Colonization of Upper Canada, and the influx of the loyal portion of New England and other states.

Though not the only English speaking colonists of British North America during the latter end of the 18th and commencement of the 19th century, there is no doubt that the U. E. Loyalists, as a class, by reason of the particular cause of their immigration, largely dominated and moulded the character of the early British settlements; and the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario, have been since then dominated to some extent by the influences of this particular element of colonization. Combining in their individual characteristics the shrewd New England practicality and enterprise, with that ideal loyalty to British institutions which has always characterised them to

a marked degree, they soon made themselves felt in the personal struggle to hew a home in the forest, as well as in those public affairs which tend to fashion the ship of state.

Though more sober in background than that of New France, the history of old Upper Canada of the latter years of the last and the commencement of the present century is richer in unchronicled lives of heroism and adventurous struggle with untamed nature and man, than is generally supposed. The strife for daily existence, the privations unknown to the dweller in civilized communities and the loneliness belonging to the early life of the pioneer, were in themselves enough to daunt the spirits of a less hardy and indomitable race.

It is easy to recall, but difficult to realize, the actual privations of a poor and scattered colony without money or clothing and beggared of even the commonest utensils necessary even for the primitive uses of civilization.

Where the forests were trackless, the rivers scarcely navigable, and settlements few and wide apart, intercourse of any kind was extremely difficult and men were shut out, not only from the Old World civilization, but in many cases, for months at a time, were cut off from all communication with the frontiers of their own colonies.

It must be remembered also, that to a large extent the pioneers who endured these hardships were not a people already inured to a life in the wilderness, but were, many of them, men and women of culture and refinement, who had left behind them, by reason of choice or of necessity, homes of comfort in the Old World.

There is much that is interesting, picturesque and pathetic in the scant annals of this time, and the writer of romance and tragedy, as well as the historian, will find no little material for literary development.

In addition to the U. E. Loyalists, whose experiences of life and hardship in the New England and other colonies gave them the advantage over their brother colonists, the population of early Upper Canada was largely made up of disbanded English soldiers and adventurous spirits who had decided to make their homes in the wilds of Canada. An interesting element among these, and one worthy of our study, was that of a number of half-pay officers, military and naval, who, at different periods at the beginning of the century, came and settled over the province.

These received large grants of land in recognition of their services, according to the rank they held and their time of service in the

army. Many of these settled in the vicinity of Belleville, others in the vicinity of Niagara.

Quite an important colony of these were the original settlers of what is now the town of Woodstock, Ontario. In fact there is scarcely an important town in Ontario which has not had, among its early settlers, persons of this class. They were of the poorer gentry, many of them being of noble, and one or two it is said, even, on the sinister side, of royal blood itself. There are several cases now existing, of peers of the realm, whose fathers or grandfathers belonged to this unique class of Canadian colonists.

Without going too much into detail a few instances of this class might be given. One gentleman, who was a post captain in the navy, brought his wife and family of little children out to the province, and, not content with the frontier villages as they were then, struck out miles into the wilderness, where he built a huge house and lived in an eccentric manner until his unfortunate family were utterly ruined by their contact with half savage life and the lack of refining or educational association, and then, suddenly, through influence at home, as he was of a family of standing, he was promoted to a high position in the navy and returned home.

Another picture, though not so realistic as we would desire, of the experiences of this peculiar class of colonist, is given us in the quaint and picturesque accounts of Mrs. Moodie and Mrs. Traill, two of the famous Strickland sisters, in their descriptions of early pioneer life in the bush.

Probably the most remarkable instance of this class, and the most interesting, is the life of the famous and eccentric Colonel Talbot, whose mother was a peeress ,and who was himself a scion of the noble house of Malahide. He was the early friend and aide de camp of the Duke of Wellington, when they were both mere lads at the vice regal court of Dublin.

Coming to America as an aide de camp of Gen. Simcoe, it is said that he fell hopelessly in love with one of the beautiful daughters of Sir William Johnstone. Be this as it may he returned to the old country, received a colonelcy in a regiment in Flanders, then, for some unaccountable reason suddenly sold out his commission, and, returning to Canada, took up his home in the extreme wilds of the western peninsula of what is now called Ontario. By reason of his rank, his influence at Court, and the object he had in view, that of special

colonization, he received from the Crown a grant of an immense tract of land on the borders of Lake Erie. Here he lived for years in the eccentric seclusion of a hermit, assuming and carrying out all the rights and assumptions of a Seigneur.

Many strange rumors and tales are crudely recounted of this man in the different biographies of Canadians, but his character is worthy of much closer study.

The life of this class of colonist has not only its picturesque side, which is well worth the study of the romancist, but, in common with that of the other elements of our nationality, it had its heroic side as well. Men who at home had lived lives of ease and indolence, here set their faces toward privation and discomfort, and hands, white and delicate, learned to wield the axe and manipulate the hoe. To conquer the forest and to till the soil were the two primitive necessities of frontier life. Women who were bred and nurtured in refinement and affluence, turned their hands to the rudset menial work, to aid their husbands, fathers and brothers.

Many of the men of this class were appointed to the public offices needful to the primitive, half military, rule of the colony, but, for the most part, they tried in an heroic way, though very unsuccessfully, to till a small portion of the vast grants allotted to them.

Among them were a large portion of the clergy of the Anglican Church, then the state church of Upper Canada, while others became prominent in law, medicine and the judiciary and parliamentary life of the country, but, as a class it must be admitted that they have done less towards the after development of the country. Ultra conservative in the old sense of the word, and still filled with old country ideas and prejudices, they signally failed in adapting themselves to the altered conditions and social levelling influences characteristic of all new countries. The attempt of a large portion of them to form an aristocracy in the country as a favored class, finally terminated in what is called the Family Compact, and had perhaps a small share in causing the dissatisfaction which terminated in the Rebellion of '37.

Whatever their prejudices, many of which their descendants laugh at today, they did good in the colony by bringing into, and keeping up, old country ideals of personal honor, love of home and social refinement—respect for old institutions and high ideals of law and order so often little regarded by a new country in its escape from the formality and red-tapeism of Old World social organisations.

It may be added that, though they may have overdone it, they helped to keep alive at critical periods in our history, that loyalty to England, to her sovereign and her institutions, which we all now feel so strongly and value as a part of our birthright.

It is, however, largely other classes of colonization, those of the farming, business and working population of England, Scotland and Ireland, that we have to thank for some of our most distinguished men. They came from the homes of those who know life from its most practical side, and were, therefore, most able to cope with it, and to be of value in the development and rule of the colony, where social codes were of little account.

The U. E. Loyalists produced many prominent men in the public life of Upper Canada. But of those whose names are most prominent in our annals not a few were of humble Scotch origin.

Scotland has, of all the nationalities which go to form our population, given us the greatest quota of our ablest public men.

In all departments of the state, in all parties of politics, in law, religion and business life they have predominated. We have only to mention such men as McKenzie, Macdonald, Brown, Sir Donald Smith, to prove the truth of this statement. But, just as for many years the names of three Scotchmen were first in the public life of Canada, so in the early history of the century, another Scotchman of humble origin was a power and personality in the land. It was certainly an instance of peculiar genius that a poor Scotch school teacher of Presbyterian family, should come out to the Church of England, and aristocratically rule Upper Canada, and there, before long, by his own unaided force of character make himself the centre figure and guiding hand of that very rule and prejudice.

However we may differ from, and discourage the ultra conservative ideas and ecclesiastical despotism that dominated his creed, religious and political, we cannot but admire the strong individuality, single purpose and splendid qualities that made up the character of the late Rt. Rev. and Hon. John Strachan, the first Bishop of Upper Canada and a member of its Legislative and Executive Councils. Narrow as may have been his views, and strong his opposition to what is now our greatest blessing, responsible government, yet he was without doubt the most remarkable man of his time, and his influence the strongest on the early history of the colony.

In closing this paper which is not intended to be in any way exhaustive, but merely suggestive, and is, at best, but an imperfect and

sketchy attempt to deal with the most prominent and important of those various elements which have entered into the composition of our national life, it may not be out of place to point out the fact that it is not by a pitting of these elements against the other as rivals for supremacy, that one of them is to succeed, but rather by the recrystalization of the national idea from the best which each has to give, that will make us a successful people.

But, whatever our antecedents and their influence on our personality as a people, one thing is certain, they cannot eventually be as strong as the ties of kinship and of common birth. The sons of one soil—the children of one sky, be it northern in its aspect, we have this bond in common which will grow stronger and dearer year by year and century by century. With a common pride of land, a common hope of community, a common strife with the outside and inside foe, those old narrow prejudices, those old world barriers of race and creed, will dissolve as our own snows in springtime, under the influence of the more realistic practical and genial ideals and conditions of a newer world and more modern life.

Finally, there is one thing that we cannot forget in meditating upon our national history, and it is this—that we are British, and all that is best in our ideals of life and government is British. Should we break away tomorrow from the Great Empire, we would still remain British in aim and ideal, and if we want to be a practical, a successful and a great people we must live up to the wisest and highest ideals of the heredity that is within us.

Wherever Britain has gone, with her liberty, her stability, her common sense, her belief in manly self-reliance as opposed to subjection, her intellectual and religious freedom, her large humanity and high ethical ideals of life, her iron indomitable spirit, and commercial knowledge and foresight; before her the mists of ignorance and superstition, the fetters of tyranny and the blind arrogance of decayed and decrepid nations have fallen and disappeared, giving place to human civilization and enlightenment, to liberty of speech, liberty of thought and action, liberty to worship God—this is the spirit of Great Britain. It is the spirit of her daughter, the great republic to the south of us, and it must be our spirit, and, as we live up to it, or not, must we rise to a place among the great nations of the earth, or sink into oblivion with those people who have failed, from whatever cause, to work out what is best in them.

MARY L. CAMPBELL.

# The Founding of Upper Canada.

The laying of the foundation of a building, the placing of the ribs of a ship, the surveying of a railway are, in themselves, insignificant matters, but of these civilization is formed. The exodus of a few men from countries where oppressive conditions abound, to other lands, where, animated and inspired by thoughts of right and liberty, new homes and laws are formed, is the foundation of the nations of the world. These are the seemingly unimportant causes that effect and make history.

The settlement of Upper Canada was by the U. E. Loyalists. An interesting and little known fact is that the first land owner in this Province was La Salle, who was made Seigneur of a tract of land surrounding Fort Frontenac. About the year 1672, the discoverer of the mouth of the Mississippi, the founder of Louisiana, left for the trackless wilds of Canada on his way to France, which country he never reached. With his men nearly all dead, with disaster succeeding disaster, he met his death by treachery in this vast territory of New France, a wide region embracing within its limits the Hudson Bay Territory, Acadia, Canada, the great part of Maine, portions of the State of New York, with the whole of the valley of the Mississippi.

The blood of the first settler, La Salle, went down to mingle with the soil. The men who came after him in 1793 gave the land many an offering of their heart's blood before their homes were won.

Separated from friends and kindred, driven from their homes to become outlaws and exiles, such men leave few memories behind them. Individual trials and acts of heroism are lost in the great fact that, eventually, they conquered circumstances.

Preceding the American revolution, and foreseeing and dreading the approach of the inevitable civil war, settlers from the middle, northern and eastern states emigrated with their families to different parts of what now constitutes the province of Ontario. These sent back to their friends accounts of the fertility of the soil and the salubrity of the climate, thereby inducing hundreds more to dispose of

their property and join them in what was the vast northern wilds. When the gathering storm of the Revolution broke, in all its dreaded and dreadful fury, hundreds followed in the line. Sad indeed, was the lot of these poor wanderers, exposed to every hardship and privation while travelling hundreds of miles through dense forests filled with savage beasts and the more than savage Indians. Behind them comfortable homes, before them toil and hardship, inseparable from the settlement of a new country.

These were the men who loved England, with all her faults, who asked and who suffered that they might live under her rule, though her laws oft-times proved hard. They were men who thought deeply, and they were men of the strong principles and traits of character that distinguish the descendants today.

But if the lot of those who emigrated was sad, it was less sad than the fate of the loyalists who attempted to remain in a state of neutrality. To many of these the independence of the thirteen States was a death knell. The young republic showed no mercy to the U. E. Loyalist. Every indignity and cruelty was practiced by the conquering soldiers, the least of these being the sending of young children and old men and women into the forests to perish. Those who had been upon the battlefield during the horrors of the civil war now saw its fruits.

Their property was confiscated and they were unwilling additions to the population of Upper Canada. Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain protection for the Loyalists. He failed, and the victims of the civil war were forced to join the band of patriots already in Canada. The fact they did not appreciate "Our Lady of the Snows," is seen in a quotation from a U. E. Loyalist wherein Canada is described as "a lovely country with nine month's winter and three month's cold weather."

I may say here, that after a lapse of more than a hundred years, with every transportation facility, this idea of the climate is still believed by large portions of the inhabitants of the neighboring republic.

These events that happened not so very long ago, on ground familiar to us all, do not awaken the sympathy that we, as a nation, so quickly give to other people who have been driven from their native lands. But as the ages wear on, this long procession through the unbroken wildness will be a march of triumph. Those who fell by the

wayside will be looked upon as martyrs, and the descendants of a U.E. Loyalist will proclaim the fact with as great an amount of pride, as those do who boast of ancestors who walked by the side of William the Conqueror or who landed from the Mayflower.

When the war was ended the U.E. Loyalists, or as they were then called, United Empire Men, with the disbanded officers and soldiers who desired to live in Canada, and a number of emigrants from the British Isles who were induced to cross the seas, received grants of land subject only to the condition of becoming actual settlers.

By royal proclamation 200 acres as a bounty was allotted to each man with an additional two hundred in consideration of military service. The wives were to receive 200 acres more and each child as it became of age the same number of acres free from all fees and charges.

These were the first permanent settlers of what was then known as Upper Canada, with the exception of the county of Glengarry, where the Highlanders, known as Father MacDonnell's Glengarry Fencibles were located. I will not go into detail concerning this settlement, judging it best to leave this part for a future paper by some descendant of the Highlanders.

The population of the Upper Province increased more rapidly than that of any of the eastern territories had ever done. In eight years it revealed the number of 20,000. In 1789 there were 60,000 inhabitants in this part of Canada. This was the year that a convention of delegates from different sections met to take into consideration a petition to the Imperial Government to be set apart from the Lower Province with a government based upon the British Constitution.

In 1791 the Imperial Government divided the Province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, with the Ottawa river as its boundary.

Gen. Simcoe was appointed the first governor of the Upper Province, and then with a constitution and governor, the settlement took its place as a province and a recognized part of the great mother land.

ELLA WALTON.

# Early Immigration into Upper Canada.

During the French régime in Canada settlement did not take place farther west than the present boundary of the Province of Quebec. The name of "first settler in Upper Canada," has been given to La Salle, who was granted land in 1674 around Fort Cataraqui. This, however, was rather a commercial centre than a settlement. Before 1760 forts were established at different points: at Cataraqui, York, Niagara and on Lake Huron. There were also missions to the Indians. But nothing had been done in the way of settling the land. "At the time of the conquest in 1760 (quoting Dr. Kingsford), except a few families at the Cedars, Vaudreuil and Chateauguay, there was no settlement beyond St. Geneviève on the thinly-peopled island of Montreal. The few hundred men wandering beyond the western lakes were pursuing their career as Indian traders, in many cases domiciled with the savages and living as they did."

Between 1760 and 1784, the population of Upper Canada did not increase very rapidly. In the latter year the foundation of the now populous and prosperous province was laid by the incoming of the United Empire Loyalists. About 10,000 settlers arrived in this part of Canada during the year. They settled along the St. Lawrence, at Cataraqui, around the Bay of Quinté, at York and Niagara. The Indians who were loyal to the British settled principally on the Grand River.

Let us take a brief glance at the form of Government in Upper Canada subsequent to the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791. The chief official was the Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Crown and directly responsible to the colonial office in London. Under him were the executive and legislative councils appointed by himself. Lastly there was the assembly elected by the people.

From the manner of appointment it will be seen that the legislative and executive councils were not responsible to the people's representatives, and as the motions and bills passed in the Lower House did not always agree with the wishes and desires of the Upper, much friction in later years was the inevitable result. The high officials were

appointed by the Crown. The revenue was controlled by the Lieutenant-Governor and his executive.

It was in the year 1768 that the colonies were first deemed of sufficient important to be under the control of a separate office. Formerly, colonial affairs had been under the direction of the Board of Trade and Plantations. The first Colonial Secretary was appointed in 1768. After the acknowledgment of the independence of the American colonies the office was abolished, and was not re-established until 1794. The referring of matters to the Colonial Office was very unsatisfactory to the colonists, owing to the time it took to send information to and fro, and also to the frequent non-comprehension of matters by those to whom application had to be made.

By the Act of 1791, certain lands known as the Crown and Clergy Reserves were set aside, the former to be disposed of as the crown recommended, the latter for the support of a "protestant clergy."

These facts concerning the government of the province and the reserve lands must be kept in mind when we study the question of the settlement of Upper Canada in the twenty-five or thirty years subsequent to the war of 1812. A study of the settlement during this period is the more immediate object of this paper.

The period was one of great importance in the history of the province. There was a great increase in population, (although the increase was not so great as some would have wished to see), the material progress was marked, the principle of religious equality established, and responsible government inaugurated.

In 1812 the population of Upper Canada was estimated at 75,000. In 1841 it had increased to 470,000.

When the Napoleonic wars ended, Great Britain was overrun by hosts of people who had been thrown out of employment by the close of the war. As a partial remedy the scheme of state-aided emigration was devised. For many years a great number left the shore of their homeland to found new homes in the colonies over the sea. Many of these settled in Upper Canada. In many cases settlement was made in the neighborhood of former settlements. In addition to this, much new land was opened up. From England the immigrants came as individuals or families; from Scotland and Ireland they came in companies organized by the emigrants themselves, in addition to the organization and support of the government. In this way the land south of the Ottawa River was settled after the war by disbanded

Scotch soldiers, their families and friends. In 1816 another settlement was made around the present town of Perth. In the next few years many from manufacturing districts in the old land also settled in this neighborhood. Dr. Mountain, afterwards Bishop of Quebec, gives an account of this settlement in 1820. He speaks of the excellent way in which the town is laid out, of the trim, neat appearance of the houses, of the well cultivated gardens. The people enjoyed many of the advantages of civilized life. There were Roman Catholic and Presbyterian churches in the town. The Anglican was built later. To this period belongs also the settlement of the Clan McNab on the banks of the Ottawa. There was another Scotch settlement on the Grand River on land bought from the Indians.

Early in the twenties there was great industrial depression in Ireland and in 1823 the Irish immigration began and continued for several years. In this year many settled in the region between Perth and Ottawa. In 1825 the Newcastle district, of which Peterborough is the centre, was settled. There were about 500 families in the company. The government spent about £43,000 on this movement alone. The immigrants were given a free passage. Land was granted them, and a grant was promised to each child when he or she came of age. They were promised support until the first harvest, and tools were supplied.

In 1826 a charter was granted to a company called the Canada Company, the aim of which was to promote emigration, and from this date the settlement of the inland portions of Upper Canada began. At first it was the intention to hand over to the company the ungranted Crown lands and one half the clergy reserves, but so great an outcry was raised against the latter part of the proposition, that the land east of Lake Huron, known as the Huron tract, was substituted. Any land that the company possessed in the neighborhood of settled parts of the province was rapidly taken up. Settlement was slow in the Huron tract only.

The person who had been instrumental in forming the Canada Company and its first business manager in Canada was John Galt. The chief monuments of his life in the district are the city of Guelph, founded on St. George's Day, 1827, and the overland communication between Lakes Ontario and Huron. Galt brought out the right kind of settlers. "He had the ear of the educated class," for he was a writer of no slight repute in his day. Many in the old land who had capital were very glad to go to a new land where there was a prospect of advancement for themselves, and their children, which was lacking

in their native land. Some wearied of the life, but a great number struggled "manfully, nay even heroically," and were well rewarded for their labors. One of them, Major Strickland, testifies to this effect. He was one of the original Newcastle settlers, but went west with Galt. Speaking of the time when he first saw Lake Huron from the spot where the town of Goderich now stands, he says, "I thought Canada then—and I have never changed my opinion—the most beautiful country in the world." He says also: "A man of education will always possess an influence even in bush society; he may be poor but his value will not be tested by the low standard of money, and he will be appealed to for his judgment in many matters, and will be inducted into several offices more honorable than lucrative."

One thing pointed out by the immigrants brought out by Galt is noteworthy and interesting. "They deemed it remarkable that the Canadian population at that time drawn from all Europe, and every State in the Union, should exhibit such small variety in manners, customs, dress, and mode of life. Germans, Highlanders, French, English and Irish soon fused and became 'Canadians'."

The visions Galt and his chief assistants entertained of the future development of the country are interesting, especially as we are in a position to note how wonderfully they have been fulfilled. They dreamed of a "Northwest passage by land," of an "experimental farm," of a way "to utilize rapids for power," of means of "going by canal from Quebec to Lake Superior," of a "steam-packet between Quebec and London,"—each of which has been realized in the three-fourths of a century which has since passed away.

The builder of the Huron road was Von Egmond, who had emigrated to the States at the close of the war in Europe, had lived there eight years and had then come to Canada. He was a man of considerable wealth—was the first one to bring horses to the Huron tract and the only one to bring waggons. He was a kindly man and in everything was a friend of the settler. It is said that his wife cut the first sheaf of wheat in the Huron district in 1829 or '30.

The settlement of the land which lies along Lake Erie, namely Elgin county and the surrounding country, was begun early in the century. In 1803 land was granted in that part of the province to Colonel Talbot, who himself cut the first tree. He devoted all his energies to the task of settlement. In 1822, in a memorial he says, "the whole of what is at present called the Talbot settlement has now become the most compact and flourishing settlement in Upper Canada,

containing as it does a population of at least 12,000 souls and establishing an uninterrupted communication between the eastern and western extremities of Lake Erie and the settlements to the northward.'' The roads in this settlement were about the best in the province, for Col. Talbot took great thought when allocating the land and placed all reserve lands in the rear of other grants.

In 1832 cholera broke out in Canada. It had been brought out on an immigrant vessel, which arrived at Quebec. Many died of the disease. It was checked for a time, and then broke out again in 1834. Protests arose again ''state-aided immigration,'' and the result was that there was a great falling off in the number of settlers for some time.

The year 1830 is notable for the number of settlers that arrived. Between 1829 and 1833 it is estimated that 160,000 arrived in Upper Canada.

But the British government did not regard with favor all immigration into Canada. In 1817 orders were issued which practically prohibited the settlement of persons from the United States. This was one of the many acts of interference of the colonial office. It was resented by those resident in the province, because of the fact that it would keep out many who would otherwise take up land, and in so doing contribute to the progress and prosperity of the country. Anything that prevented the sale of land was a grievance, for land constituted ''the sole wealth of Upper Canada'' at this period. One legislative councillor, who was also an administrator of oaths, disobeyed the instructions and claimed the right that ''every person could legally settle and establish himself in the province.'' Early in 1817 the legislature met and the tone of its discussions was extremely displeasing to the Lieutenant-Governor and his executive. ''The prosperity and expediency of preventing emigration from the United States,'' was discussed; also, ''the influence on the province by the retention of the Crown and clergy reserves.'' The abrupt prorogation of the house prevented the submitting of several resolutions on the subject :''that operations during the later war had been seriously hampered by the want of population''; ''that the province contained immense tracts of uncultivated land, which, if occupied, would add to the wealth and prosperity of the Empire''; ''that owing to the discouragement given to settlers from the United States, many respectable persons had been prevented from establishing themselves in the country''; ''that the large tract of Crown lands and clergy reserves

were obstacles to settlement, and to keeping roads in repair." Politically this unoccupied land held out an inducement for future wars with the United States by affording means of indemnity for the cost of war and furnishing the reward of their followers"; "that the sale of the Crown lands would relieve the province of a heavy charge"; "that the reservation of one-seventh of the land for a Protestant clergy was lavish and should be reduced."

These Crown lands and clergy reserves were looked upon with great disfavor. In the first place they were an obstacle to settlement. Very often they were given to persons who had no intention of settling on them. Secondly, connected settlement could not be made, for the reserve lands were in detached blocks scattered throughout the different townships. Thirdly, they were an obstacle in keeping roads in repair. In 1793 an act had been passed "to regulate the Laying out, Mending and Keeping in Repair the Public Highways and Roads." Each settler was to clear a road across his lot, but no provision was made for roads on reserve lands, or lands which had been granted but not occupied. For many years the roads were in a very bad state, and the road between any two places was not necessarily along the line of shortest distance. The first bit of macadamized road in the province was between Kingston and Napanee, and for years it was "the only exception in an execrable road between York and Kingston."

The principal public works carried on during this period were the Welland and Rideau Canals. Both gave work to a large number of incoming settlers and led to the settling of the country through which they passed, and the establishment of several towns.

The work on the Welland Canal was begun under private enterprise in 1824. In 1829 the first vessel passed between Lakes Ontario and Erie. Persistent appeals were made to the assembly for funds to carry on the work. Much dissatisfaction arose concerning the management of the work, and a committee was appointed to investigate all things in connection with the canal. It was proposed to make the work a public one, and this was done in 1841. The Rideau Canal was begun in 1826 under the direction of the Imperial government, and was not transferred to the Provincial Executive until 1856. By means of this canal and the Ottawa River, all communication between Kingston and Montreal was carried on until 1845, the year of the completion of the St. Lawrence Canals. The opening of the latter canals gave life and vigor to western Canada. "All the great improvements date from their completion."

In the period between 1841 and 1867, Upper Canada developed rapidly. "In those days Ontario became the noble province she now is, by virtue of the capacity of her people for self-government, the energy of her industrial classes, the fertility of the soil, and the superiority of her climate." (Bourinot).

The first census of Upper Canada was taken in 1824, and the population was but little over 150,000. The returns of the last census, taken in 1891, were over 2,100,000. The one to be taken in the opening year of the new century will probably show a large increase.

But the settled parts of the province do not constitute the whole of it. There is still our own "great northland," and of this it has been said "there is opportunity for a population—equal to that of southern Ontario, equal in numbers, equal in prosperity."

M. A. NORTHWOOD.

# The First Parliament of Upper Canada

In order to discuss the merits of any form of government intelligently it is absolutely necessary to know the characteristics of the people to be governed, therefore, we must refer briefly to the early history of the country. Canada was in possession of the French, and the Government was purely despotic, though not cruel or harsh. After its conquest in 1756, and its formal cession to England in 1763, a military Government was instituted which continued until 1774, when the famous "Quebec Act" was passed by the British Parliament. At the close of the war between England and France, eleven years previously, English emigration had been invited to Lower Canada, with the promise, (by Royal proclamation), of representative government—which promise, however, was not fulfilled, and French law was restored. A petition was, thereupon, presented to the King, stating that English Law, and trial by jury were not admitted in any civil case, and that French Law was imposed on all, contrary to the compact entered into with the settlers of the Reformed religion, and that the legislative power of the province was in the hands of officials wholly appointed by the King,—all of which was contrary to the free constitution by which the King held his Crown.

In course of time the English Government saw that steps must be taken to put an end to the general discontent and one may well imagine that the task was a difficult one. Here were two races, offspring of two of the greatest nations of the world, differing in language, customs, religion and laws, and yet under the jurisdiction of one power. The French clinging, as was natural, to their old ways, revering the laws they had had bequeathed to them, and cherishing the language which they had lisped at their mother's knee, sent petitions to the British Government, insisting on the preservation of French laws and the continuance of the constitution. Lord Grenville himself felt the justice of their plea, and in an eloquent speech said that the attachment of the French Canadians to their old ways had been alleged to be caused by purblind prejudice against English law and practice. "I think," said he, "that their attachment to French jurisprudence and traditions deserves another name than prejudice; for in

my idea it is founded on the noblest sentiments in the human breast." The English colonists, on the other hand, as the country was now under the flag of Great Britain, and as they had been induced to settle in Canada under promise of being governed by the laws of the British Constitution, felt themselves wronged, restricted, and unjustly dealt with. They were filled with that love for free institutions which has always been characteristic of a Briton since the time when our great Magna Charta was wrung from the unwilling hands of John, down through the ages until now when, Great Britain and her Colonies being in the throes of a mighty war, struggling in pain and anguish to give birth to the latest offspring—the British Dominion of South Africa—our own brave Canadian boys, at the first cry for help have hastened with gallant hearts to risk their lives in defence of free institutions wherever the British flag shall float.

The English colonists petitioned Great Britain to grant them a form of representative government, and the result was that trial by Jury in civil cases, and the law of habeas corpus, were introduced into the province in 1788. The popular Sir Guy Carleton, who had been created Lord Dorchester, was sent out as governor in 1786, and in order to aid the English ministry in procuring information about the internal affairs of the country, he appointed committees to inquire into all the particulars connected therewith.

When this full report was received by the Home Government, a bill was introduced in the English House of Commons by the famous Pitt, providing for a representative government in Canada, after the model, as far as possible, of the British Constitution. Mr. Pitt in presenting his bill, said that a division of the province into Upper and Lower Canada, should put an end to the competition between the old French inhabitants and the new settlers from Great Britain and her colonies. The Habeas Corpus Act was to be continued as a fundamental principle of the Constitution, and the British Premier announced to the French people, in the name of his country, that their nationality would also be respected, and that Canada was to be divided into two Provinces in order that the inhabitants of each might enjoy in peace their civil laws and institutions. This bill was opposed in the English Parliament by Fox and others, but it received the special support of the illustrious Burke, who said, "For us to attempt to amalgamate two populations, composed of races of men, diverse in language, laws, and habitudes, is a complete absurdity. Let the proposed constitution be founded on man's nature, the only solid basis for an enduring Government."

So this momentous bill passed both Houses of the Home Parliament and received the Royal assent, and Canada was granted a new constitution, received in 1791 that representative form of Government which had been promised to it by Royal Proclamation nearly 30 years before.

This act divided the colony into Upper and Lower Canada, the dividing line between them to be the Ottawa River. For each province a Legislature was established, consisting of a Governor, representing the Crown; a Legislative Council, representing the House of Lords; and a House of Assembly, representing the House of Commons. The members of the Legislative Council were to be appointed by Royal authority for life; those of the Assemblies to be chosen by the people once in four years, to be elected by owners of real estate of the annual value of two pounds sterling, in the rural districts, and those having holdings worth five pounds a year in the towns, or else, by tenants in urban localities paying a yearly rent of ten pounds.

I have, as briefly as possible, sketched the conditions of the country before the introduction of representative government, and I shall now try to deal with the second phase of the question—the people of Upper Canada, their surroundings and social condition at the time of its first Parliament. At this period the population of all Canada was nearly 135,000 souls; of whom 12,000 were English, sparsely settled in the Upper Province. This population was composed of United Empire Loyalists, who were the principal inhabitants, and numbered about 1000, in addition to which there were 10,000 Indians under British jurisdiction.

When the U. E. Loyalists first arrived almost nothing was known of the country, and when no more of them could be taken to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Mr. Glass, who had been a prisoner during the French war, undertook the task of transporting a colony of them to Upper Canada. As late as in 1812, when William Ryerson, (an ancestor of Mrs. William McDougall, Mrs. Harriss and Mrs. Girouard of Ottawa) aide-de-camp at the time to a British General, was sent on a message from River St. Clair to Little York (now Toronto), his road through all that district was but an Indian track through perfectly unbroken country. If such was the case in 1812, picture to yourself the howling wilderness it must have been 20 years earlier. Such were the people, and such their surroundings when representative government was granted to them.

Under the new constitution, Upper, like Lower Canada, had a legislature consisting of a Governor appointed by the Crown, and

responsible to it alone; a Legislative Council, appointed by the Crown for life; and a Legislative Assembly, elected by the freeholders of the country. The Assembly was to be elected once in four years, and was empowered to raise a revenue for public services, roads, bridges, schools, etc. The Legislative Council consisted of seven members; the House of Assembly of sixteen. By usage and with the approbation of the Home Government, though not by any provision of the Constitution, the Lieutenant-Governor was assisted, (really ruled) by an Executive Council, who were responsible neither to the Governor nor to the Legislative Council nor to the House of Assembly,—an independent, irresponsible body,—an oligarchy in fact which exercised great power, was very intolerant, and became very odious.

General Simcoe, the Governor chosen by the Crown to rule this new province, was a man of great ability. He arrived in January, 1792, at Montreal, en route for Kingston and Niagara. On leaving Montreal, he with his retinue, ascended the St. Lawrence in a fleet of bark canoes, stopping at a hostelry called St. John's Hall in Johnstown. In this house, he held his first levée in Upper Canada. He was received by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, with a salvo of artillery fired from an old cannon in the old French fort on the island below Johnstown.

Soon after the Governor left on his journey up the river, the gentry of the surrounding country gathered at St. John's Hall to do honor to the occasion. Picture them with their odd broad-skirted military coats, their low tasseled boots, their looped hats with faded feathers fluttering in the wind, meeting to celebrate with speeches and health drinking, the coming of their new Viceroy. However, we must hasten on to rejoin Governor Simcoe at Kingston. The ceremonies there partook of a religious character, the event was one of solemnity, and took place in the old wooden church opposite the market. According to royal instructions the Governor was to have five members in his first Executive Council—these were: William Osgoode, afterwards the first Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and in whose honor Osgoode Hall was named; William Robertson, James Baby, Alexander Grant and Peter Russell. The Legislative Councillors were Robert Hamilton, Richard Cartwright, an ancestor of our Sir Richard's, and John Munro. Here, General Simcoe, thought it suitable to announce to the inhabitants of the new province that their first Governor was in their midst.

In July, 1792, he left Kingston for the capital (Newark), now Niagara, a village of some 400 inhabitants, which had been chosen

because it was protected by the guns of Fort Niagara, directly opposite, and also because many Loyalists of the Queen's and Butler's Rangers had settled in the Niagara Peninsula, and he would thus find himself, as it were, among his own people. In those days the Governor was virtually King, there was no responsible Government as at present. The Governor acknowledged no responsibility, but to the Crown which had appointed him, while the officials, nominated by him, acknowledged responsibility to the Governor and the Crown, but none to the people's representatives. He chose for his first military secretary, Major Littlehales, an officer of merit and ability, who afterwards became Secretary of War for Ireland. One of his aides-de-camp was Colonel Thomas Talbot, the founder of the Talbot settlement in the western district, and formerly on the staff of the Duke of Buckingham, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Gray was appointed Solicitor-General. The Clerk of the Executive Council was Mr. Smart. For civil secretary he had William Jarvis, a former officer in the Rangers, whose descendants today are among the best known people of this Province. Peter Russell was appointed Receiver-General; David Wm. Smith, a soldier and a famous man of his day, was appointed Surveyor-General; and Thomas Ridout (an ancestor of Lady Edgar) and William Chewett were the Assistants Receiver-General. All these were men of acknowledged ability and worth.

The following were the 15 members of the first Parliament of Upper Canada, whose first session opened in September, 1792—John Macdonell, Speaker; John Booth, Mr. Baby, Alexander Campbell, Philip Dorland of the Bay of Quinte district, who being a Quaker would not be sworn in, and did not take his seat; Peter Vanalstine of the same district elected in Mr. Dorland's place, Jeremiah French, Ephriam Jones, William Macomb, Hugh Macdonell, Benjamin Rawling, Nathaniel Pettit, David Wm. Smith, Hazelton Spencer, Isaac Swayzy, Peter Young, and John White, who became the first Attorney-General of the Province. The end of the career of the last named was most tragic, as on January 3rd, 1800, he fought a duel with John Small, the Clerk of the Executive Council, receiving a wound which proved fatal. That incident alone reminds one of the great gulf between the customs of our day and those of the early part of the 19th century. We can hardly imagine one of our ministers of the Crown seriously contemplating the settlement of a quarrel in such a very equitable manner! Looking back to those times, we can but faintly realize the pride those men must have felt in being summoned as members to the first parliament of their province. Unfortunately, however, many of them could not afford to leave their farms at harvest

time, but a sufficient number came to enable the Governor to open the House on the day named.

It is interesting to note that the First Parliament building was Navy Hall in Niagara, which was also the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor. It consisted of a group of four frame buildings, one, a long low structure standing at right angles to the river, the three others just beside this main building, and parallel to the water.

Here, in this primitive edifice, Governor Simcoe, in order to impress the Province with the fact that it had become an offshoot of the Great British Empire, determined to open Parliament with all the ceremonial that distinguished the opening of the English Parliament, as far as possible. Niagara was then garrisoned by British troops, and in addition the Governor had a new regiment, which had been raised for Colonial service, but which bore the name of the Old Queen's Rangers, which troops acted as a guard of honor to the Governor at the opening ceremonies. What a novel sight for the white people and the uncivilized Indians to witness the pageant of a Military Governor, attended by his staff, delivering an outlying Province into the care of men called to legislate for the welfare of this new country.

The Governor's speech, told of the great and momentous trusts and duties which had been committed to the representatives of this Province, and he spoke in such thrilling terms of the British constitution, after which this new Government was modelled, that the members were fired with new hopes and aspirations for their future home.

The first session of this new Parliament lasted only four weeks, during which there were present three members of the Legislative Council and five members of the House of Assembly. The members of the latter have been described as "Plain, homespun farmers and merchants, from the plough and the shop." But the fact is that many of them possessed luxurious homes from which they had been exiled and had chosen to hew out new ones for themselves and their families in the vast solitude of Upper Canada, the silence of which was only broken by the barking of the fox, the howl of the wolf, and the occasional war whoop of the Indians, but where they were free to serve their King under the dear old flag—that "bloomin' old rag over 'ead," as Rudyard Kipling says. Such were the members of our first Parliament of Upper Canada, into whose hands were intrusted the destinies of this young country. During this session of four weeks,

eight bills were passed, the first was an act to introduce English law in all matters of controversy relative to property and civil rights. This act may be said to be the great charter of the people's liberty in Upper Canada today. The next was an Act to establish trial by jury. The other acts were "to regulate the charges of millers, limiting their allowance for grinding and bolting grain to one bushel for every 12 bushels ground, for the easy recovery of small debts, for the change of German names of the four districts, into which Lord Dorchester had divided Upper Canada, and an Act to erect a gaol and a court house in each district."

General Simcoe closed this Session in October, 1792, with these noteworthy words:—"I cannot dismiss you without earnestly desiring you to promote, by precept and example, regular habits of piety and morality, the surest foundation of all private and public felicity; and at this juncture, I particularly recommend you to explain to your constituents that this Province is signally blessed, not with a mutilated constitution, but one which is the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain, by which she has long secured to her subjects as much freedom and happiness as it is possible to enjoy under the subordination necessary to civilized society." The legislature was then prorogued, and "the good men and true" who had represented the people wended their way homewards. Many an M.P. had travelled to Niagara to attend the Session from his far off home, on horse back, with saddle bags containing food for man and horse, frequently having to camp out in the woods, or accept hospitality from friendly Indians, out on the hunt, or from the settlers of some distant clearing. Some of the members of Parliament returned in bark canoes, skirting the margin of Lake Ontario, and on by the St. Lawrence to their eastern homes.

The second session was opened in May, 1793, by General Simcoe with a speech, in which he impressed upon the representatives of the people, the duty of remodelling the militia. He did not fail to remind them of the value to be placed on the British constitution as opposed to absolute monarchy, arbitrary aristocracy, or tyrannical democracy, and added, "how often has it been necessary for Great Britain to stand forth as the protector of the liberties of mankind, and we may entertain a pious confidence that under the guidance of the Almighty Giver of all victory, His Majesty's arms, directed to the security of His subjects will be ultimately crowned with success, and that it will be the felicity of the British Empire to maintain her independence against all modern aggressions, upon those equitable principles which

our ancestors so wisely contributed to accomplish." Is it not rather striking how history repeats itself, and with what propriety our own Governor-General might repeat verbatim Governor Simcoe's speech today (108 years since). The address closed with these wise remarks: "I have to recommend to you to continue with the same unanimity with which you have begun your Legislative functions, and to make such provisions for the support of justice, for the encouragement of morality, and for the punishment of crime, as are necessary for the existence of society. In all measures that may promote the real welfare of His Majesty's subjects in this country, which may tend to the most intimate union of every part of the British Empire, you can not fail to win His Majesty's paternal and beneficent approbation."

The King's birthday, the 4th of June, fell upon the fifth day of the second Session, and, as usual, was kept with a great show of loyalty to the Crown. On that day, the annual training of the militia took place—the men, meeting at a specified place, were put through their drill by some retired officer of the line. Dress, eyes front, salute, fire a feu de joie, shout, "God save the King," and then their martial duties for the day were ended. The men appeared on parade, some in old military coats, others in their best homespun and beaver hats, while the officers generally in full dress, with their scarlet coats and imposing epaulets, looked very fierce and war-like. On this special day, the above ceremony took place, accompanied by a royal salute and the hoisting of the royal standard at the military post and on the Governor's quarters at Navy Hall. The Governor in the evening gave a grand ball, which was attended by 20 well dressed and handsome ladies and about three times that number of men. What fun those girls must have had! During this second session, an Act was passed forbidding the introduction of slavery into the Province—ten years in advance of Lower Canada.

After the closing of the second session the Governor determined to make Toronto the future capital, although parliament continued to meet in Niagara until 1797. In July, 1794, the Gazette, the government official paper, contained the following advertisement, "Wanted —carpenters for public buildings to be erected at York (Toronto)." Applications to be made to John McGill, Esquire, at York, or to Mr. Allen McNabb at Navy Hall."

In June, 1795, the fourth session of Parliament was called. There were present at the opening but two members of the Legislative Council and five of the Legislative Assembly. The Governor opened the house, as usual, with all the formality which distinguishes the opening of a session of the English House of Commons. The Duke de Liancourt,

who was then travelling in Canada, gives the following interesting account of the occasion,—"The whole retinue of the Governor consisted of a guard of fifty men of the garrison of Fort Niagara. In full court dress he entered the hall with his hat on his head, attended by his adjutant and two secretaries. Five members of the Legislative Assembly appeared at the bar and the Governor delivered a speech, modelled after that of the King on the political affairs of Europe, and on the treaty which had been concluded with the United States, which country he mentioned in very flattering terms.

The fifth session of the 1st parliament opened at Niagara in May, 1796, lasted less than three weeks, although it was a very important ont. The principal Acts passed were for the regulation of Juries. One was entitled, "An Act to establish a Superior Court of Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction and to regulate the Court of Appeal," and another, "An Act for the regulation of certain coins current in the Province." There were in all seven bills passed this session.

During its successive sessions at Niagara, the Parliament passed Acts for the civil and municipal administration of the country, the construction of roads, fixing duties on goods imported from England and United States, etc. The Legislature offered a reward of 20 and 10 shillings respectively for the heads or scalps of wolves and bears, (suggestive of the dangers of early settlers) ; and allowed the members of the Assembly ten shillings per day each, indemnity. I cannot close my paper on the first parliament of Upper Canada without giving a pen picture of the Governor to whose wise guidance during that first Parliament, we in Upper Canada today owe so much of our prosperity.

General Simcoe was a soldierly man in the full vigor of life, advanced but little beyond his fortieth year, of youthful and stern, yet benevolent aspect, as shown by the medallion in marble on his monument in the cathedral at Exeter. He was just, active, enlightened, frank, without pride, amiable, obliging and capable of discussing all subjects, war being his favorite topic. He possessed the confidence of the country, of the troops, and of all those who joined him in the administration of public affairs, to which he attended with the closest application. He preserved all the old friends of the king and neglected no means of winning new ones for him, and was endowed with all the qualities which his position required to maintain Canada as a Colony of Great Britain. Such was General Simcoe, the father of constitutional pure and progressive Government in this fair Province of ours.

EDITH KERR.

Coburg, Ont.

# The Battle of Lundy's Lane.

Late in 1813 Americans under Gen. McClure burned Niagara driving out the inhabitants, destroying grain and slaughtering cattle, before retiring to winter at Lewiston and so hoped to prevent the British wintering at Fort George. The flames at Niagara were the signal for the advance of a party of British soldiers, who arrived in time to stop the work of destruction before the barracks and defences of St. George were seriously injured. Gen. Drummond attacked and took Oswego, and so enabled Sir James Yeo to have the American fleet strictly blockaded in Sackett's Harbour.

In May Americans made a raid on the Erie coast, burned Port Dover and many mills filled with grain. In June Fort Erie was invested without opposition by Americans. July 5th, the sharp, short battle at Chippewa was fought, the British being compelled to retire. July 19th, the village of St. Davids' burned, and every house between Queenstown and Niagara.

The most stubborn and sanguinary battle ever fought in Ontario is called by American historians Bridgewater, is blazoned on their colors by British soldiers at Niagara, while Canadians proudly remember it as homely Lundy's Lane, now a street in Niagara Falls South.

From severe campaigns during the two previous years, scarcity of food, and lack of sufficient training, the British forces were in poor shape to encounter the overpowering numbers brought against them, even under the leadership of such men as Sir Gordon Drummond, who had been selected by the Duke of York as commander of forces in Canada, on account of his "zeal, intelligence and local knowledge," Colonel Scott, who had served under Abercrombie in Egypt and Wellington in India, General Riall, an active, energetic leader, Harvey, Morrison and Pearson, who had fought bravely and wisely in the previous year's campaign, and Lieut.-Col. Wm. Drummond, nephew of Gen. Drummond.

The American army was under command of General Jacob Brown, a politician rather than a soldier, but the brigades were led by Gen. Winfield Scott, a veteran of the Revolution, and probably one of the best drill masters in America. The entire force consisted of nearly 5,000 men and 9 pieces of artillery.

General Brown, influenced by his success at Chippewa, proposed to beat the British in the field, and then march in triumph through the country, although he had hoped to have entrusted the total demolition of the forts to Commodore Chauncey who was hindered from joining him through illness. This he might have been reasonably sure of accomplishing, considering that the 36 miles of Niagara frontier was guarded by less than 3,000 men, including garrisons at Forts Niagara, George and Mississauga, and field works at Queenstown and Chippewa.

On July 20th General Riall gathered his forces together near 12 Mile Creek, numbering 1700 regulars, including the Glengarry Light Infantry and Incorporated Militia, 700 Lincoln Militia, 700 Indians; in garrison at Fort George were 660 men, at Mississauga 400, and at Niagara 550. Many among those in garrison were sick and many too young to be fit for service.

The clean sweep proposed by General Brown was prevented, however, by the coming of Sir Gordon Drummond from Kingston with 400 men of the 89th under Col. Morrison (of Chrysler's farm fame), and the sending of reinforcements under his nephew to strengthen Riall, and at the same time the despatch of Lieut.-Col. Tucker in command of 1500 men with orders to assail the Americans at Youngstown on the 25th.

Brown had retired to Chippewa and Riall took advantage of this to push forward and take his position at the junction of Lundy's Lane and the Portage Road. On the morning of the 25th the British force was placed as follows:—

First Brigade, Col. Scott in command lay at 12 Mile Creek ;2nd Brigade, Lieut.-Col. Tucker joined by Col. Morrison occupied the forts at the mouth of the river; 3rd Brigade, Lieut.-Col. Pearson, forming the right wing, stretched along the 12 Mile Creek as far as De Cew's Falls; while the flank composed of Royal Scots and militia, under Lieut.-Col. John Gordon, formed a reserve.

Col. Pearson was ordered to advance, which he did, and took possession of the high ground at Lundy's Lane. The entire force was widely ranged, but capable of being concentrated in a few hours. When General Drummond, about six in the evening, arrived at Lundy's Lane, instead of finding General Riall's entire division, he met the Light Brigade retiring before the enemy: the road to Queenston was occupied by Morrison's advancing column, and Drummond

hastily change the movement of the Light Brigade, ordering up the 24-pounders to hold the enemy in check till all troops could mass and form.

Among the peach and apple trees which then as now bordered Lundy's Lane, the Glengarry Light Infantry took their position as right wing; among the graves beside a little frame Presbyterian church, which stood on the summit of the slope near the junction of the roads, the field guns and rocket party were placed, lower down in the fields, the Incorporated Militia, while the remainder of Morrison's column formed behind the guns as fast as it came up. When the formation was completed the total number of men was 1637, as opposed to over 4,000.

The engagement was commenced about 6.30 p.m. by General Scott making a direct attack all along the British lines, which was well sustained except on the left where the Americans had gained a decided advantage, almost succeeding in getting possession of the Queenston road, having captured nearly 100 prisoners, among them Capt. Loring, A.D.C. to Gen. Drummond and Gen. Riall. As the cheering from the American lines over this exploit died away, the British succeeded in destroying one of the American ammunition wagons. Then occurred a sharp, hard struggle in which both sides suffered severely. Col. Morrison was carried from the field severely wounded; many of the American soldiers ran away and could not be induced to return to the field. The growing darkness made artillery fire nearly useless, and the lines of battle could only be distinguished through clouds of dust and smoke.

At the end of three hours, the British force was reduced to less than 1200, with ammunition nearly exhausted. The much needed relief, however, was at hand.

During the afternoon the order had reached Col. Scott at 12 Mile Creek, to march immediately to support Gen. Riall at Lundy's Lane. He instantly responded and marched with nearly 1200 men of all ranks, three six-pounders and one howitzer, till within three miles of the scene of action, where he was met by an orderly bearing a despatch directing him to retreat and join Gen. Riall at Queenston. They had retreated about four miles when they were overtaken by another messenger summoning them to come with all speed to the conflict. Accordingly this weary and footsore column after a march of 20 miles, came in view on the extreme right at nine o'clock.

The action was recommenced by the Americans attacking on the left and attempting to turn the flank by an attack on the right also. Their infantry proceeded to advance on the British artillery, whose attention was taken up with the batteries below. They gained the summit, after heavy loss, captured both the 24-pounders and one six-pounder, and confined Lieut. Tomkins and a few of his men in the church, from which they afterwards escaped.

The American artillery now attempted to follow the infantry to the summit, but a volley of musketry killed nearly all the riders and scattered the horses. For the next two hours the opposing lines were seldom twenty yards apart and in the flashes of each volley of musketry they could distinguish the faces of the opposing force, and even the buttons on the coats.

It is impossible to give a connected narrative of the close of the struggle, the British striving for very life to regain the summit they had lost, and the Americans striving to thrust them down and drive them from the field.

After consultation with General Brown, General Scott led forward his brigade in the hope of forcing back the British right. By Gen. Drummond's orders the 89th knelt in a field of grain, reserving fire till their assailants were within a few paces of them, and then delivered such a volley that the American line was thrown into confusion. After having two horses killed under him and his shoulder fractured, Gen. Winfield Scott had to be removed from the field. His entire brigade had been reduced by death of officers and men, and desertion, till only about 200 men remained, fighting on in despair.

About the same time Gen. Brown received a wound in the thigh and made over the command to Gen. Ripley, who decided to retreat beyond Chippewa. While preparations were in progress for this retreat, Drummond was gathering his scattered forces for a supreme effort to retrieve lost ground. Nearly one-third were dead or wounded, and both 24-prs. had been recovered and an American 6-pr. captured. The scattered detachment rallied, formed again, pressed steadily up the slope, and at midnight stood triumphantly on the summit. The British held undisputed possession of the field during the rest of the night; next morning Gen. Ripley re-crossed the Chippewa, but finding the field occupied in force retired, destroying the bridge, and retreated so rapidly that by midnight his wearied force lay down without waiting for tents or lights, on the heights opposite Black Rock.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| British Officers - | 5 killed, | 36 wounded. |
| American Officers - | 16 killed, | 56 wounded. |
| British Privates - | 76 killed, | 532 wounded. |
| American Privates | 160 killed, | 520 wounded, 100 missing. |

General Drummond thanked and dismissed the militia, and remained near Lundy's Lane.

The war was nearly ended. During August 16,000 British troops arrived to assist Canada, although through Sir George Prevost's neglect to make the most of advantages gained, no definite progress was made. Still, the British entered Chesapeake Bay, captured Washington and burned the public buildings, in revenge for the burning of Niagara. The Treaty of Ghent was signed December 24th, 1814.

MRS. JESSE KETCHUM.

# Battle of Chrysler's Farm.

I propose to treat today of a battle which, although little spoken of at the present time, is neverthless, famous in Canadian History, and ought to be a source of joy and pride to every patriotic Canadian heart. I refer to the battle of Chrysler's Farm, fought on the 11th November, 1813, on the farm belonging to Capt. John Chrysler, of Williamsburg, in the County of Dundas, and situated on the banks of the St. Lawrence, thirty miles east of Prescott, and twenty miles west Cornwall.

Historians describe the battle as a most memorable one, and military men look upon it as extremely scientific, because of the professional skill displayed in the action by the adverse commanders.

Considering the extraordinary preparations of the American Government, and the failure of its forces, the battle of Chrysler's Farm should be classed as the most important of the war of 1813.

To understand the battle of Chrysler's Farm, it is well to note some of the preceding events of the war. The year 1812 was marked by a series of wonderful successes for British arms; then, came the gloom of 1813 and the capture of York, followed a month later by the taking of Fort George. The British squadrons had been swept from Lake Erie, and were left largely at the mercy of the foe.

Overjoyed with the continued success of American arms, and thinking that the British fleet was completely hemmed in by Chauncey's squadron in the western extremity of Lake Ontario, Armstrong, the American Secretary of War, planned a two-fold expedition. He had long desired to capture Kingston and Montreal, and thus control the St. Lawrence. In pursuance of this plan, he sent Wade Hampton with 4,000 men to reach Montreal by Lake Champlain and divert attention to that point, while the chief command was given to General James Wilkinson, who took charge of 10,000 men for the purpose of attacking Kingston. General Wilkinson's men mustered at Sackett's Harbor, whilst those of General Hampton lay at Chateauguay, prepared at a day's notice to march upon Montreal. It was arranged, that General Wilkinson, should descend the St. Lawrence, unite with

General Hampton at Lake St. Louis, and that they should both make their triumphal entry into Montreal, and take possession of the Canadian metropolis.

General Wilkinson moved his army nearly opposite Kingston, with a view of first reducing that post, and afterwards, demolishing all the forts between Kingston and Montreal, but finding there a powerful British fleet, as well as a land force, he changed his course, and retired to Sackett's Harbour.

After frequent delays, on the 17th of October, 300 large boats consisting of scows, batteaux, Durham boats, sail boats and twelve heavy gun boats, left Sackett's Harbor amid a storm of sleet and rain, which cost them fifteen boats, and some lives. At every available part of the river, General Wilkinson met resistance from the British gunboats, which were pressing closely in his rear. He relinquished the idea of attacking Prescott that night, and landed his troops three miles above Ogdensburg.

They travelled by land for some miles, and returned to their boats, atthe head of the Galop Rapids. Coming down the swift current of the St. Lawrence that circles Point Iroquois, they were met by a picket of Canadian militia, in a most effective attack.

General Wilkinson, after a council with the others in command, decided to send General Brown with his brigade across the river below the village of Iroquois to join the forces already there, and to guard the further descent of the troops.

The British forces were close at hand, although the enemy had advanced two miles further down the river. Lieut.-Col. Morrison of the 89th Regiment, with a small force of 850 men composed of British, Canadians and U.E. Loyalists, followed from Kingston, as rapidly as his cumbersome gun-boats would bring him. At Prescott, he secured a lighter craft, and as he reached Point Iroquois, he could see the American army encamped in the distance below. Troops were landed in Iroquois to pursue the enemy who, however, took to their boats once more for a further descent of the river; Col. Morrison followed, and hoped to meet them on more favorable ground.

At last they reached Chrysler's Farm, and all that Col. Morrison asked for his handful of troops—Croil says, in his history—was, "A fair field and no favor." At Chrysler's Farm, he saw his opportunity, and if he could only get the enemy to meet him there he felt sure of success; even though their number might be legion, they must yield to the steady and resolute charge of the British arms.

From the old Chrysler house the road leading to the wood extended half a mile from the river, and was lined on either side by fences of about five feet in height. On the north was a swamp covered with timber, and impassible for troops, on the south was the Kingston Road under the command of Lieut.-Col. Pearson, consisting of a skeleton of the 49th regiment under Capt. Nairn. A company of Canadian Fencibles under Lieut. de Lorimier, and part of a troop of Provincial dragoons under Capt. R. D. Fraser, with the companies of the Voltigeurs, extended a little in advance under Major Herriot. The left wing was commanded by Colonel Morrison of the 89rd Regiment, and a party of militia under Lieut. Samuel Adams, with about 30 Indian warriors, was posted along the skirts of the woods under Lieut. Anderson.

The scene of the action was immediately transferred from the river to the land, and the battle was fought in an open field. After some hours of fierce struggle, it resulted in the defeat of the Americans. They were driven to their boats. That night they retreated to their side of the river, where they could not be molested by the Canadian forces.

The loss during the engagement was, on the Canadian side, 22 killed and 157 wounded; and on the American side, 102 killed and 237 wounded.

The next day General Wilkinson heard for the first time of how the active and vigilant de Salaberry, with his three or four hundred French Canadians, defeated Wade Hampton's army of 4,000 at Chateauguay. General Hampton's letter further informed him, that he had given up all thought of reaching Montreal.

General Wilkinson then went to Fort Covington where he abandoned his flotilla, and giving up the proposed attack upon Montreal, retired to the United States.

Christie says—"The importance and effect of the conflict at Chrysler's Farm cannot be over-estimated. By diverting the expedition from Montreal, it completely frustrated every object that its leaders had set before them to accomplish."

Of the house of John Chrysler, that served as a home to the British officers on the eve of their victory and afterwards as an hospital to the wounded, only the chimney stood, as the sole reminder of the brave and noble dead that slept near by. Steps had been taken to erect a suitable monument, but years passed on, and still nothing had

been accomplished. However, in 1883, Doctor C. E. Hickey, then representative of the County of Dundas, introduced the subject in the House of Commons and urged the Government to recognize the event with a monument. Owing to his noble efforts, also to those of H. H. Ross who succeeded him, and had followed the zeal of his predecessor in that respect, a substantial one was erected in 1895, and thus, at last, a grateful country has given some slight tribute of honor to the good and noble men, who sacrificed their lives, rather than to surrender their homes to the invader. Built of Canadian granite, the monument is 40 feet in height, and 60 feet above the current of the St. Lawrence, which flows in close proximity to its base. It will stand there for all times as an object-lesson to the stranger, who comes to enjoy the surpassing beauties of our noble river, as well as a perpetual reminder to our own Canadian youth of how their forefathers loved their country, and gave their lives in its defence. Upon its pedestal we read the following inscription: "In honor of the brave men who fought and fell in the victory of Chrysler's Farm on the 11th November, 1813."

Many of those who bore arms were U.E. Loyalists, men who after the revolution of 1776, had forsaken home and friends and everything that was dear to them in life, for the sake of British freedom, and out of love for the Union Jack.

Of those that took part in the battle not one remains, but their acts of bravery and heroism will always be looked upon with pride by their descendants. Of them it may be truly said:

"Their swords are rust, their bones are dust;
Their souls are with the Lord I trust."

MADAM RHEAUME.

# The Effect of the War of 1812 on Canada.

Emerson says, "Man is explicable by nothing less than all his history." If this is true of man, it is none the less true of his warfare, consequently it is with feelings of great diffidence that I attempt in such a brief space of time to compass this broad theme. Cause and effect are so inseparably bound up together that before we can pass to the "effects of the war," assigned as the subject of this paper, we must briefly dwell on the causes which led up to these effects. After careful study one is forced to admit that the desire of conquest was the mainspring of action. American politicians, flushed with the success of the war of Independence, dreamed of possessing all North America. That there were many side issues cannot be denied, and to understand these we must turn to Europe and view events there. The war between England and France was revived in 1803, at once followed the aggressions on neutral trade, in which the Americans, as the great natural carriers of the world's commerce, were the chief sufferers. In 1806 were issued the Berlin and Milan decrees by which Napoleon closed all the ports of the continent against British manufacturers.

England retaliated by the no less famous Orders-in-Council which forbade all nations to trade with France. This was no idle mandate, but one which her fleet was not able to enforce. In 1807 one hundred and ninety-four American vessels were captured by the British, and also a large number by the French. Needless to say the whole American people were affected by this serious embargo on their trade. The right of searching for deserters in American ships, insisted on by Britain, was another cause of indignation. In 1807, 1000 seamen were imprisoned by Britain. In this condition the affair of the "Chesapeake" and "Leopard" calls for notice. The United States frigate "Chesapeake" challenged by His Majesty's ship "Leopard," refused to give up the deserters among her crew. She was forthwith attacked, boarded by the Leopard's crew and the deserters taken by force. This act was promptly disavowed by Britain, but it fanned the flame of indignation against Britain, already burning in the United States.

On June 18th, 1811, reparation was made for the "Leopard-Chesapeake" outrage; the British Government agreeing that the right of search extended only to a requisition. On June 16th, 1812, two

days before war was declared, the British Government withdrew the obnoxious Orders-in-Council, so that the two chief *casus a belli* existed no more, but a newly returned Congress were bent on war, and, though deprived of primary causes, dwelt on secondary ones, namely, that the British had tampered with the Indians and urged them to hostilities, and that they had also tempted the fidelity of New England. This latter charge arose out of the notorious correspondence between Sir James Craig and Captain Henry, which history has proved to be more or less of a fiasco. But the real cause lay behind these alleged ones, as Dr. Hart of Harvard, one of the most noted historians of the war, from the United States standpoint, clearly sets forward. He says: "The evident purpose of the war was to take Canada, and, by the occupation of British territory, to force England to make a favorable peace." The war in Europe was waging fiercely. As we have seen, the Berlin and Milan decrees and the British Orders-in-Council, brought the American commerce immediately into collision with both the belligerent states. The American people retained a warm feeling of gratitude towards their allies, the French, and a strong feeling of animosity towards their enemies, the British. Various additional causes contributed, in the course of the contest between England and France, to increase the partiality of Americans to the latter country. Mr. Sulte, in a lecture recently delivered in Ottawa, dwelt upon one of these, namely, the friendship existing between Napoleon and the American president. With the usual tendency of mankind to attach themselves to names, and not to things, this strong partiality for the French alliance, which originated in the common democratic feelings by which both were animated, and the republican institutions which both had established, continued after France had passed over to the other side. The republican sympathy of America was about to exhibit the anomalous spectacle of allying itself to the despotic sway of Napoleon, thus spurning the constitutional liberty of Britain. The speeches delivered in Congress at this time show forth, unhesitatingly, the desire for war. The reason universally alleged is voiced in a speech delivered by Henry Clay, "An honorable peace is obtainable only by an efficient war."

On the 19th of June, 1812, Congress declared war against Britain. It was plain to all eyes that Canada must bear the brunt of the war. That the invasion of Canada, without any provocation on her part, was one of conquest is proven by the proclamation of General Hill, which immediately followed the declaration of war.

It opens with strong reminders of Great Britain's tyranny and injustice, and appeals to Canadians as brethren to join with them in

order to share "the dignified station of free men." After shewing clearly that the war is one of conquest he continues, "Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not. . . I have a force which will look down all opposition. If, contrary to your own interest and the just expectation of my country, you *will* be considered and treated as enemies, the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner, instant destruction will be his lot."

The proclamation of General Smyth to the soldiers of his army (the army of the centre) still further reveals the spirit which prompted this invasion. I give brief extracts: "The time is come when you will cross the streams of Niagara to conquer Canada. You are superior in number to the enemy. . . . The regular soldiers of the enemy are generally old men, whose best years have been spent in the sickly climate of the West Indies. They will not be able to stand before you."

It is but fair, at this point, to note that a large number of cities in the Northern States protested against the war, indeed the New England States might almost be said to have threatened the Union, so serious was their opposition. Before the war was declared memorials poured into Congress from the Northern States, claiming that all cause of war was removed and reading thus, "On the subject of any French connection we have made up our minds, we will in no event assist in uniting the Republic of America with the military despotism of France. We are constrained to consider the determination to persist in the war, after official notice of the revocation of the British Orders-in-Council, as a proof that it is undertaken on motives entirely distinct from those hitherto avowed."

Quincy, one of the greatest statesmen of that day, declared on the floor of Congress, "Since the mission of the Buccaneers, there is nothing in history more disgraceful than this war. Others protested against the subordinations of treason and the sowing of seeds of sedition among the people. Thus we see there was a party in the United States alive to the spirit of deliberate and wanton aggression which prompted the war, but they were in the minority. That they refused to aid it in any way is gratefully recognized by Canadians, who esteem the resolute forbearance of the New Englanders which held them aloof from the enterprise.

Having thus seen the spirit in which the war was declared, we are prepared to consider the way in which it was met in Canada. At first sight it seems impossible that a country so small in numbers compared

to her hostile neighbours could attempt to withstand the invasion. Kingsford says, "It is not possible to conceive a country less prepared to enter into war than Canada, without men, without money. For her it was to be a war of defence and the chief burden of this defence was to fall upon the Canadian militia. Her frontier was drawn out some 1700 miles. To guard it she could put in the field perhaps 5,000 regular troops, and these were in truth as the United States invading proclamation had characterized them. Great Britain was straining every nerve to meet the advances of Napoleon, indeed in 1813 we find her carrying on war in every quarter of the globe. The provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had only a population of about 300,000, a small number when compared with the 8,000,000 of their enemies. It seemed almost impossible that she should attempt to withstand an invasion from such an overwhelmingly strong foe. Nevertheless, the declaration of was was met by a spirit of stern resistance. The population, if small, afforded a sturdy stock from which to gather fighters. The militia were ready and volunteer battalions were rapidly formed and drilled. Such was the ardor of the loyalists that arms sufficient for all who thronged to serve could not be found.

As we are bound to turn our attention to the effects of the war we shall only consider the successive campaigns as they serve to bring out the leading features of the war, and so reveal the effects which these features caused .

The theatre of the war was much the same as in the French and Indian wars of 1759-60. The lines stretched from Nova Scotia to the great lakes, Detroit marked the flank of both powers and Lake Erie was included in the field of operations. Thus the greater share of the burden of war must fall on Upper Canada and the fierce struggle waged most furiously there, for the crucial point was the possession of the Niagara peninsula.

The soul of the Canadian defense was General Brock, and around him rallied the militia assisted by the inhabitants who, as we have seen, came forward as one man to resist the invasion.

The first campaign, that of 1812, ended gloriously for Canada. Time forbids that I should do more than merely mention the capture of Detroit—Michilimackimac and Queenston Heights. These successes were offset by serious reverses on the sea, but once again I must remember that this paper is to treat on the effects of the war and resist the temptation to linger over the individual battles. My only consolation in thus passing over so many interesting points is that I feel

sure that the mere mention of such names as Queenston Heights, Lundy's Lane, Chateauguay and Chrysler's Farm, in the Historical Society, will serve to call up in all minds such a mental picture of the engagements that to dwell upon them is unnecessary and so, with intelligence, we may pass on to our more limited field.

The Campaign of 1813, was one of varying fortune, signalized by the heroism of Laura Secord, saddened by the death of the brave and humane Tecumseh, chief of the Shawanœs and memorable for the victories of Chateauguay and Chrysler's Farm.

The battle of Chateauguay demonstrates so clearly the spirit in which the Canadians understood the defense of their country, and the manner in which they waged their warfare, that I choose it as a typical encounter to dwell upon for a few moments.

The force of the enemy amounted to 7,000 infantry, 400 cavalry, and 12 pieces of cannon. The whole force on our side did not exceed 300 men commanded by the brave De Salaberry. In the accounts of the battle figure such names as La Mothe, Pelletier, Vervais du Bois, Carron, with numerous Macs, ever to the front in Canada, thus shewing how all Canadians united, irrespective of national origin, to defend their country. Indeed the whole 300, with but few exceptions, were Canadians. The Montreal Herald of October 26th, 1850, gives an exceedingly interesting account of this battle by an eye witness, he claims that, "To the strength of the position chosen by the sagacious De Salaberry as well as the famous *abattis* as much as to the heroism of our little army, we are indebted for the splendid victory. The Beauharnois militia were exceptionally brave, kneeling down at the beginning of the action their captain said a short prayer in his own good way, and told them that now they had done their duty to their God, he expected they would also do their duty to their King." It is pleasing to note that De Salaberry's gallant conduct was warmly recognized by the Mother Country.

His Excellency, Sir George Prevost, issued a general order expressing the approbation of the Prince Regent of the affair of Chateauguay and his "peculiar pleasure at finding that His Majesty's Canadian subjects had, at length, the opportunity of defeating, by their own brilliant exertions in defense of their country, the calumnious charge of disaffection and disloyalty, with which the enemy had prefaced his first invasion of the Province."

Though the campaign of 1814 was marked by only varying success and two severe reverses were sustained, England and her allies

had triumphed in the old world, and Napoleon had been driven from the throne of France to the barren isle of Elba. While the forces in Canada were still engaged in warfare the Commissioners of Great Britain and the United States were discussing terms of peace.

On the day before Xmas, 1814, the Treaty of Ghent was signed. By its provision each nation restored all lands taken during the war, an agreement was made to establish the boundaries on a satisfactory basis and to join in a common effort for the suppression of the slave trade. To the Americans the war brought little but disaster; they came out of it with their foreign commerce temporarily ruined, and with their great mercantile marine destroyed (England took 3000 of their ships). Their invasion of the land of an unoffending people whom they first vainly tried to seduce from their allegiance and then visited with fire and sword, resulted in the acquisition of not one single foot of added territory.

Canada, however, came out of the war covered with glory. She had defended her wide frontier against an overwhelming invading force. Some of the most decisive and splendid victories were won by the Canadian militia. She proclaimed to the world that her people were Canadians first, whether claiming descent from France, England, Scotland or Ireland and that to be a Canadian means to be a part of the British Empire. She proved that her sons were one in loyal valor when the enemy came against her gates. Therefore, summing up, we may say that a marked effect of the war was to increase the sentiment of devotion to the Mother Country, side by side with the feelings of brotherhood which were kindled in the hearts of those who, forgetting race and creed, fought shoulder to shoulder for their homes; making common cause in Britain's name. Beyond proclaiming to the world that Canada contained an active, loyal, energetic race, with instances of national courage, it taught Canada herself what her position in the Empire was, and we may note, as an effect, the growth of a fervent national spirit. In the years of the war, Canada passed through a trying ordeal, but at no period can be traced despondency or hesitation in meeting the duty of the hour. It is a passage in our history to which we and our children's children will look for ever with justifiable pride.

In England the war drew attention to Canada in quarters where there had been a slight tendency to overlook her. As Mr. Kingsford points out: "It showed to the men of the Mother Country, of statesmanlike minds and enlarged views, that the province was not a source

of imperial weakness. It established the fact that if wisely directed, Canada would become an addition to the dignity, greatness and strength of the British Empire, without in any way presenting the slightest embarrassment in the relationships."

A further effect of the war was to draw the different provinces more closely together. Canada not only gained, by this baptism of fire, a martial self-reliance and the germs of a new spirit of patriotism, but also a unity of purpose and interest between the provinces. This feeling of union, growing secretly but steadily, later manifested itself in Confederation.

As one studies the history of this war, and marks its effects in the drawing together of all Canadians into a closer brotherhood as danger threatens; one unconsciously draws a comparison between those days of warfare and the warfare of today. Then Canada fought with Britain and for Britain, but beyond this, she fought for her own existence, her own homes and all the traditions dear to her. Today we see the patriotism, the loyalty, the martial spirit fostered by the keen struggle of 1812 developed into a larger patriotism, a deeper loyalty and a sterner heroism, for her sons fight now as citizens of the Empire of which they form a loyal part, and their heroism is exercised, not for their own freedom and their own homes, but for the cause of freedom in another continent. Surely we may claim, as the crowning effect of the blood shed during this war, that it baptized Canada into the new national life of which we are all justly proud.

JENNIE MCCONNELL.

# A Summary Translation of Mr. Sulte's French Article on the Destruction of Forests in Canada.

When Canada was discovered, it was found to be a wooded country, so much so, that nothing could be seen apart from trees, and, in a letter written in 1611, the whole country from New Brunswick to the river Ottawa is described as an immense forest, cut up by rivers and lakes.

The settlers who first attempted to make establishments found that the felling of trees was the primary condition of any work they could undertake, and no doubt this was a great drawback in regard to colonization. Gradually, the clearing of the wood allowed the sun to penetrate the soil on both shores of the St. Lawrence, and that fertile region soon proved to be a favorable country for cultivation. This was done for a good purpose but without any discrimination, and the result arrived at, is threefold: no shade left for the houses, the animals, or the land; the drying of small rivers, the absence of fuel wood for the commodity of the habitants.

It has been said often that this practice of clearing the grounds to the last bush, originated from the danger of the Iroquois hiding themselves in ambush, behind the woods, but we must remember that the greater part of Lower Canada had nothing to fear from those Indians after 1665, and that, at that time, the proportion of land cleared was very small; indeed it only showed a few patches of five or ten acres here and there, consequently the real work of colonization began after that date, and there was no reason for the absolute destruction of trees that has been noticeable until the present time throughout the province.

This deplorable state of things has remained chronic for two centuries and a half, and it is only of late that few individuals have started a movement to grow trees on farms in order to reap the benefit of their influence for the purpose above stated. This may come to be more and more understood before long, and it is hoped that the

efforts of those who initiated the action will be supported by the parties most interested in its success. Not only legislation in this respect is required, but also the exertion of all men who take a keen interest in the welfare of the community.

There are many spots in the province of Quebec where the apparition of a forest in the place of a field of wheat and oats would be considered a great boon, for it would supply both fuel for the house and timber for building purposes, besides it woud revive the springs and rivulets that have now disappeared, and the cattle could find under their cover a refreshing shade during the summer months. Such an important item in life and comfort of the country people, is most desirable, and it is to be regretted that our educational institutions have not yet turned their mind in that direction.

The persistent system of cutting down every tree that could be found, has produced two evils that are easily visible everywhere: first, rocky lands and other lands not fit for cultivation, have been deprived of the woods without any future advantage for their proprietors, and now they remain as an eyesore in the landscape, whilst they could have been kept as a store useful in days of need by simply taking out of them a fair and reasonable quantity for the current consumption. Second, the fine species suitable for particular industries are thoroughly gone, and we are obliged to procure them from the United States. All these considerations deserve to be known unless we are not willing to improve the condition of our country.

Some writers have thrown the blame on the lumbermen for exhausting the forest, but this is not altogether within the limits of what has been explained above, in fact it is another question. The lumber trade originated with us about 100 years ago for the most, and at that time six generations of settlers had already caused the destruction of all the woods around them. The axe, led by the merchants, plunged into the untouched forest and picked the finest specimens they could procure, but, nevertheless they left ten times more trees than the number they removed.

Behind them came the actual settlers with their constant habit of destruction which they extended to the new territories. The whole damage done cannot consequently be attributed to the lumbermen.

By the natural course of things, the water that comes from the rain, if falling on a forest, goes to the ground and there remains considerable time before trickling drop by drop into the lower ridges (or

ravine, and cavities, where they form ponds and rivulets that empty themselves into larger streams, which fill, in their turn, the larger rivers. This gradual movement of the waters by small proportions keeps the rivers on a constant level. This is a state of nature. But, on the contrary, if the rain falls on a denuded soil, every drop of it runs down immediately to the river, causing a sudden rise of the water and inundation, and very soon passes away, leaving the river with an awkward low level, becausethere are no more supplies coming to replenish the current. The same thing occurs when the water falls on a thatched roof, when it drops afterwards quietly from the edge of such roof, but if the rain comes on a tin covered building it precipitates itself to the ground in one large flow. There is another calamity which is widely observed in regard to our timber lands. I mean the extensive fires that have raged so often in the vicinity of new establishments. One of the main causes of these, is the facility with which the settlers set fire to the rubbish that remains in their way after the removal of logs and other big pieces from the trees. The flames carried by the wind will spread in a certain direction and develop themselves into prodigious conflagrations; they not only reduce to cinder vast strips of forest, but the burning ashes falling on the ground where they accumulate find a new element of activity in the root of the stumps and penetrate with them to a depth that is astonishing to calculate, thus destroying completely the agricultural value of the tract of land so exposed. It takes more than a century afterwards to allow the soil to grow even the smallest shrubs.

We have seen hunters and other individuals lighting fire in a bush for culinary purposes or to warm themselves, and leaving it without taking the necessary precaution of putting it out. This is the cause of many disasters.

When all conditions are favorable forest fires sometimes reach gigantic proportions. A few such fires have attained historic importance. One of these is the Miramichi fire in 1825. It began its greatest destruction about 1 o'clock in the afternoon of October 7th of that year, at a place about 60 miles above the town of Newcastle, on the Miramichi river, in New Brunswick. Before 10 o'clock at night, it was twenty miles below Newcastle. In nine hours, it had destroyed a belt of forest 80 miles long and 25 miles wide. Extending over more than two and a half million acres, almost every living thing in this area was killed. Even the fish were afterwards found dead in heaps on the river banks. Five hundred and ninety buildings were burned, and a number of towns, including Newcastle, Chatham and Douglas-

town were destroyed. One hundred and sixty persons perished and nearly a thousand head of stock. The loss from the Miramichi fire is estimated at $3,000,000, not including the value of the timber.

The government sent those poor people a supply of food and clothing and many of them came to Quebec, whence they were sent to the Ottawa Valley, where they settled in the district of Pembroke. The Poupore family, so well known amongst us, came under these circumstances, and they, as well as the people they brought with them, proved to be an acquisition to this part of the country.

Other fires of about the same time were most destructive, including Lake St. John, 1867; Riviere Moise, Riviere St. Maurice, Beloeil Mountain, Big Washichore, 1878; the forest of Aylmer, 1871-72. Besides all that, there is the effect of thunderbolts which cannot be prevented any more than spontaneous combustion, a case more frequent than we suppose.

AUGUSTINE P. SULTE.

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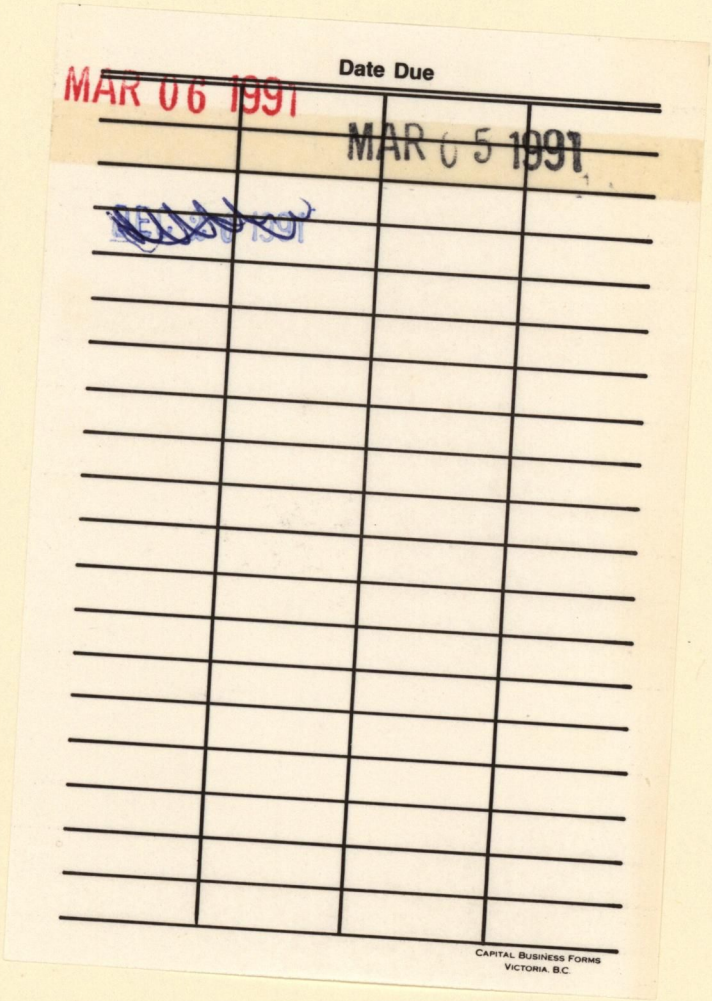
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